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NOTES AND NEWS

JOHN LYDGATE, Benedictine monk of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, formed, with Chaucer and Gower, one of the poetical triumvirate of his period. Born ^{THE}FRONTISPIECE shortly before Richard II came to the throne, he lived through the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V and for the greater part of the reign of Henry VI. The Library possesses manuscripts of two of his larger works, the "Troy Book" and the "Falls of Princes". A miniature from the former, and earlier, is given as the frontispiece to this number.

The "Troy Book" or, as the manuscript entitles it, "The boke of the sege of Troye", is an amplified version of the prose "Historia Destructionis Troiae" of Guido delle Colonne and was undertaken at the instigation of the Prince of Wales, later Henry V. It was begun in the autumn of 1412 and completed in 1420. The Rylands manuscript, which was formerly in the Crawford collection, is a folio volume dating from about the middle of the century and is richly illuminated throughout. The miniatures, some of which fill half the page while others are painted across the wide margins, number in all sixty-nine, but two only can be mentioned here. On the opening page, preceding the text, is shown Lydgate kneeling before the king to whom he presents his book. This has been considered to be an authentic portrait of the poet; the presentation scene itself is, of course, found in other manuscripts. At the beginning of Book II (fol. 28^v) occurs the miniature of the Queen of Fortune

shown as our frontispiece. She is depicted crowned and robed in ermine and red, holding her wheel. Around her are kings, queens, ecclesiastics and others, some clinging to the wheel, others with hands raised in supplication and, on her left, those who have not been favoured being thrown to the ground. The gowns and head-dresses are in a variety of colours, and the crowns and wheel in burnished gold, while the background is deep blue and, at the bottom, dark green.

Another depiction of the same allegory occurs in one of the Library's Visigothic manuscripts, the "Moralia in Job" of St. Gregory, which dates from the late ninth or early tenth century. A drawing of Fortune and her wheel, filling half a page, has been added in the twelfth century in a blank space at the end of cap. XXII. Much simpler in design than the scene in the "Troy Book", it is in an outline of dark blue to which some red has been added and shows Fortune seated, turning the wheel with her right hand. Instead of the crowd of figures there are only four kings. The extent to which Fortune has favoured them or not is indicated by their positions round the wheel and by the words "regnabo", "regno", "regnaui" and "sum sine regno" written at the side of each.

The Library's manuscript collections relating to the period of the Napoleonic Wars have recently received a further addition by the acquisition of another portion of the ^{PITT PAPERS} Pitt Papers. Although this extends in date from 1766 to 1814, the bulk relates to the early years of the nineteenth century and comes mainly from the papers of John Pitt, 2nd Earl of Chatham, as Master-General of the Ordnance, an office he held, with a brief interlude, from 1801 to 1810. It consists of correspondence, reports, memoranda and plans the majority of which are concerned with the proposed defences of various parts of England, particularly the South Coast, against the threatened invasion, the defences of Quebec, Trinidad and Ireland, projects for attacking the Spanish colonies in South America, and details of ordinance to be supplied to various expeditions. John Pitt's niece, Harriot Hester Eliot, was the wife of Lieutenant-General Sir William Henry Pringle (d. 1840) and the acquisition also includes military

correspondence and records, confidential reports, casualty lists and allied documents from Pringle's papers while serving as Commander of the Second Brigade in the Peninsula. Letters of a number of military leaders prominent in the campaigns occur throughout the collection, among them being Frederick, Duke of York (the Commander-in-Chief), Wellington, Sir Rowland Hill and Fitzroy Somerset (later Lord Raglan). The Pringle records have a particular interest for the Library as they directly supplement the collection of military correspondence and papers of General Sir Henry Clinton (d. 1829) and his brother General Sir William Henry Clinton (d. 1846) which was acquired in 1958 and of which an account has been given in a previous number of this BULLETIN (vol. 41). The recent acquisition also contains two smaller groupings of personal correspondence. The earlier consists of letters written to her mother between 1766 and 1786 by Harriot Pitt, daughter of the 1st Earl of Chatham, the later of letters from Pringle to his wife, Harriot Pitt's daughter, mostly written from the Peninsula between 1811 and 1814.

Among the early Gospel Books in the Library Latin MS. 87, which dates from c. 1000, has a particular interest, both stylistically and by virtue of its provenance. Dr. Bernhard Bruch of the Staatsbibliothek at Bremen, whose valuable account of the ancient Cathedral Library of that city was published in the December (1960) number of *Philobiblon*, has recently completed a study of this codex in which he has drawn attention to the veneration in which it was held at Bremen and to its unusual history. It is apparently the only volume to survive the Cathedral fire of 1041 and, with the "Golden Psalter" of Charlemagne, now in Vienna, one of the only two volumes to escape the plundering of the Cathedral Library by Henry the Lion in 1155. Dr. Bruch has kindly forwarded us the following account of his investigations, which he entitles "How Bremen Cathedral Lost its Oldest Gospel Book (Rylands Latin MS. 87) and the Vienna 'Golden Psalter' of Charlemagne":

RYLANDS
LATIN MS. 87:
THE OLDEST
GOSPEL BOOK
OF BREMEN
CATHEDRAL

"Among the oldest constituent parts of the Bremen Staatsbibliothek, which celebrated its tercentenary in November 1960,

are the remains of the former archiepiscopal Cathedral library, which was seized by Sweden in 1650 and removed to Stade. Only a small portion of the 600 known titles returned to Bremen in 1684 for the Athenaeum¹ and not more than six manuscripts (including three superbly illuminated codices) of the pre-Gothic period bear witness today to the wealth of early medieval manuscripts which this old archiepiscopal centre must once have possessed. Nothing, however, even of this oldest portion, goes back beyond the middle of the twelfth century,² and for this at least no blame can be attached to Sweden. For the fire in the Cathedral in 1041 had already destroyed everything which it had formerly possessed of the treasures of Carolingian or Ottonian book-art—with, so far as is known, one single exception: the Cathedral's Ottonian Gospel Book of c. 1000, which has been since 1901 in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, where it is now Rylands Latin MS. 87.

“Whether this manuscript was written in Bremen itself or elsewhere is not clear—its illumination, at least, shows the stylistic influence of Cologne—but it was at any rate executed *for* Bremen Cathedral. On this difficult question, as well as for a description of the manuscript itself and an assessment of its artistic value, we can only refer to the relevant literature and facsimiles,³ for we are concerned here solely with the importance

¹ The Royal Swedish Lutheran Latin School, recently founded near the Cathedral as a rival to the city's famous reformed “Gymnasium illustre”.

² The well-known Echternach Book of Pericopes of c. 1040 (MS. b 21 of the Bremen Staatsbibliothek) cannot be numbered amongst the ancient possessions of Bremen, but comes from the Library of Melchior Goldast von Haiminsfeld, purchased by the city council in 1646.

³ A. Goldschmidt, *Die deutsche Buchmalerei*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1928), on Pl. 98; V. C. Habicht, *Niedersächsische Kunst in England* (Hanover, 1930), on Pl. 1; M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library*, i. 157 ff. and Pls. 113-16. Habicht's view (op. cit. p. 7, ll. 8-10), at variance with that of Goldschmidt and James, that this Bremen Gospel Book is to be dated only c. 1050 instead of c. 1000 must be categorically rejected. The hand is of the type found c. 1000 and Habicht's supposed proof of its dating, namely an asserted similarity of style between its miniatures and those of the Gospel Book in the Department of Prints at Berlin (MS. 7), is based on shaky premises. The attempt of Habicht, as of G. Swarzenski (*Die Regensburger Buchmalerei*, Leipzig, 1901, pp. 16 ff.), to establish the localization of the Berlin Gospel Book as Bremen

of the codex for Bremen and with the question as to when and how it came to stray from the Cathedral.

" Rylands Latin MS. 87 is one of the four earliest manuscripts formerly belonging to the Cathedral which can still be traced, although none of them is any longer in Bremen. They consist of three Ottonian Gospel Books and the sumptuous 'Golden Psalter' of Charlemagne. Originally only the three Gospel Books were intended for Bremen Cathedral and of these, the two later ones, which are in the somewhat stiff late Ottonian style and are, moreover, both of disputed origin, only date from the second half of the eleventh century, after the Cathedral fire. One of them, formerly in the possession of the abbey of St. Michael at Lüneberg, belongs today to the Niedersächsische Landesmuseum in Hanover;¹ the other, previously the property of the Benedictine monastery at Niederaltaich (Donau, between Regensburg and Passau), belongs to the Staatsbibliothek at Munich.² On

remains incapable of proof and has indeed already been convincingly refuted by E. F. Bange, who has shown the Berlin manuscript on good evidence to be the work of Hildesheim (*Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, Jg. xv (1922), 1 ff.). As the Berlin and Manchester codices have no connection one with the other, the evidence for dating the latter, like the former, c. 1050 falls to the ground. But above all, in his attempts at dating, Habicht has completely forgotten the Cathedral fire of 1041. If the Gospel Book in Manchester had in fact only been executed for the Cathedral about 1050, after the fire, then the legend of its supposed descent from Ansgar would never have arisen, for what had only come into being after the fire could not have been maintained to be ancient. Only that which dated from before the fire could have appeared venerable enough to give rise to the legend.

¹ Sect. XXI a, No 37, Cod. memb. 4^o (recently on exhibition in the Kestner Museum in Hanover). Cf. A. Böckler, *Das goldene Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III* (Berlin, 1933), p. 85; "Kunst des frühen Mittelalters, Berne Kunstmuseum Ausstellung", Berne, 1949, No. 99; F. Stuttmann, *Der Reliquienschrein der goldenen Tafel des St. Michaelsklosters in Lüneberg* (Berlin, 1937), pp. 53-62 and Pls. 25, 52-66. (The conjecture advanced by Stuttmann on p. 61, that this Gospel Book was presented to the abbey about 1440 through Archbishop Balduin, is hardly correct. On this cf. below, p. 279, n. 1.

² Cod. lat. 9475. Cf. G. Swarzenski, *Die Regensburger Buchmalerei des 10 und 11 Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 16, n. 3; A. Böckler, op. cit. p. 85; "Kunst des frühen Mittelalters", *ut sup.*, No. 100; A. Goldschmidt, op. cit. vol. 2, on Pl. 97; V. C. Habicht, op. cit. on Pl. 2. (Traceable at least since the fourteenth century in Bavaria and perhaps already then at Niederaltaich. But probably there even before that, cf. below, p. 279, n. 1.

the other hand, the 'Golden Psalter',¹ a work of Dagulf, a scribe of the Palace school, preserved today in the National Library at Vienna, was originally a present from Charlemagne to Pope Hadrian I and only came later to Bremen Cathedral as a gift from Henry IV to Archbishop Adalbert.

"From the remotest time the 'Golden Psalter' and the first of the three Gospel Books (Rylands Latin MS. 87) have ranked as the most precious manuscript treasures of Bremen Cathedral, and this not merely as its two oldest codices, but because they were regarded above all as sacred relics, rich in legendary association; for this reason, too, they had a common history until their later and simultaneous alienation. Both have written on their opening pages the entries, dating from the middle of the seventeenth century, which record the bases for these legends and for the reverence in which the manuscripts were held. In the case of the Gospel Book it is a short sentence: 'Hoc Evangeliorum Codice usus fuit S. Anscharius dum esset in vivis, et multis exinde seculis in Ecclesia Bremensi veluti sacer adservatus est.' In the 'Golden Psalter' the lengthy entry, based on a statement of mayor Hemeling of c. 1415, begins with the words: 'Hocce Psalmorum Davidicorum codice Beata Hildegardis Caroli Magni Coniux dum viveret usa fuit. Quem dein(de) Ipse Imperator . . . Ecclesiae Bremensi Ao. Chr. 888 donavit. In qua octo integris seculis . . . veluti sacer habitus . . .' Both these legends are, of course, fantastic. An Ottonian Gospel Book of c. 1000 can not have been in the possession of Archbishop Ansgar (d. 865), nor can the 'Golden Psalter' have been a manual of devotion of the wife of Charlemagne or have been presented to Bremen by him. For the Psalter contains the dedicatory verse written by Dagulf himself explicitly recording that it was an imperial gift to Pope Hadrian I. And, further, Adam of Bremen clearly states that Archbishop Adalbert only received it about 1065 from Henry IV, whose father, Henry III, had probably brought it back to Germany from Rome. But it is due entirely to the pious error

¹ Cod. Vind. 1861. Cf. R. Beer, *Denkmäler der Schreibkunst aus der Handschriftensammlung des Habsburgisch-Lothringischen Erzhauses* (Leipzig, 1910), pp. 29-68 and coloured plates 17-26; E. Grohne, *Altbremischer Kunstwerke Schicksal und Verlust* (Bremen, 1928), pp. 9-12.

of these legends that the two manuscripts owe their long stay in Bremen. As presumed relics of those two holy persons, both highly revered in Bremen, they were preserved, not in the Cathedral library or school, but with the other Cathedral treasures in the Cathedral itself, and it was as a result of this that they escaped in 1155 that plundering of the rest of the Cathedral library by Henry the Lion which almost certainly took place after his conquest of Bremen and must have despoiled the Cathedral of its two other late Ottonian but 'non-sacred' Gospel Books.¹ To lay hands upon the holy relics in the Cathedral itself would have been an act of sacrilege not possible for Henry to commit. So 'Ansgar's' Gospel Book and Charles' 'Golden Psalter' remained safely at Bremen until the middle of the seventeenth century.

"Hitherto, however, it could not be clearly established how and when both manuscripts suddenly disappeared from Bremen. The Gospel Book, as is indicated by the printed book-plate bearing a coat of arms which is pasted in the front, came at this time into the private possession of Franz Wilhelm von Wartenberg, Bishop of Regensburg and Osnabrück. The 'Golden Psalter', although without its sumptuous ivory binding, became part of the library of the Emperor Leopold I. And yet the problem is easily solved if one recognises the connection between the entries in both manuscripts, cited above, recording the legends of their associations.

"Both entries are, it is true, undated and without indication of their place of origin. But the one in the 'Golden Psalter' is at least signed in the same hand by an imperial notary, Johannes Henseler, who is otherwise, in Bremen at all events, unknown. The whole entry, the last seven lines and signature of which are in Henseler's personal cursive and the rest in a fine, imposing book-hand, probably also written by him, shows a striking similarity as regards date and style to the entry in 'Ansgar's' Gospel Book, which in appearance falls perhaps mid-way between

¹ This has been dealt with more fully in my "Die alte Bremer Dombibliothek. Ihre Geschichte und die hochromanische Buchmalerei in Bremen", in *Philobiblon*, Jg. IV/4, 1960, p. 295 and n. 4, and correction slip. Through Henry the Lion the two Gospel Books taken from Bremen came to the monasteries in Lüneburg and (although it is not clear how) Niederaltaich.

Henseler's two hands. Although doubtless not by the same hand, both entries nevertheless clearly reveal writers of the same school and possibly also from the same scriptorium. Quite unmistakable, however, is the linguistic identity of their bad Latin; 'Hoc(ce) codice . . . *usus (usa) fuit*', '*dum esset in vivis (dum viveret)*', '*multis (octo) seculis veluti sacer adservatus (habitus)*'. The two entries together form a pair and have apparently the same aim and purpose—namely, the acquisition of the two manuscripts, probably at the same time, by the notary John Henseler on behalf of Franz Wilhelm, Bishop of Regensburg and Osnabrück.

"A probable date for this would be the year 1649 or, at the latest, the beginning of 1650. For it was only in 1649 that Wartenberg became Bishop of Regensburg and as such gave precedence to this title before all his others on his book-plate in the Gospel Book, while, on the other hand, the inventory of the Cathedral library handed over to Sweden by the Stade protocol of May to July 1650 no longer includes these two manuscripts. For Franz Wilhelm the acquisition of both formed part of the systematic purchases of important Catholic relics which, with papal authorisation, he was making throughout the whole of the Protestant north of the empire with the purpose of establishing new cult-centres in the Catholic south. Already in the previous year, the long-established Protestant Cathedral chapter of Bremen, in need of funds to finance its expensive lawsuit against the Swedish crown, had alienated to him the superb and exceedingly costly Cosima and Damian shrine of the Cathedral for removal to Munich.¹ The two sacred manuscripts were now also made over to the Bishop, but apparently not before removing from the Psalter its valuable ivory plaques in order to increase the net proceeds by a separate and undisclosed sale. (Today the plaques belong to the Paris Louvre.) The entries in the two codices recording the legends of their associations served as notarial confirmation for the Bishop that he was acquiring in these manuscripts genuine and reputable sacred relics. That the notary Henseler, who was unknown in Bremen, acted as the Bishop's

¹ J. Focke, *Die heiligen Cosmas und Damian und ihr Reliquienschrein in Dom zu Bremen*, in *Bremen Jahrbuch*, xvii (1895), 128-61.

agent in this sale, is all the more likely in view of his probable Osnabrück origin as a relative of the then Cathedral Syndic and Chancellor Franz Wilhelm Henseler (Chancellor, 1624-33). Wartenberg could already have become acquainted with him when Bishop of Osnabrück and employed him on similar commissions, although John Henseler's name is nowhere else traceable in Osnabrück.

"Of the two Bremen manuscripts, Wartenberg retained the Gospel Book as his private property, to judge from the evidence of his book-plate and coat of arms, but the Psalter of Charlemagne he apparently acquired from the outset for the Emperor Ferdinand III. For there is no mark of the Bishop's ownership in the Psalter to indicate that it came to Vienna only after his death (1661), nor would Leopold I's librarian Lambeck have been so surprised in 1666 at finding it in the imperial library,¹ nothing of its acquisition during Leopold's time (he was Emperor from 1658) being known to him. The 'Ansgar' Gospel Book, however, passed after the Bishop's death through various private hands until in 1901 it was acquired by the John Rylands Library."

The Library has amongst its collections two notable manuscripts from Trier, a ninth-century Psalter and a tenth-century Gospel Book written and illuminated for the Emperor Otto III, as well as a medieval jewelled binding, an illustration of which was given

A MS. FROM
THE ABBEY
LIBRARY OF
ST. MATTHIAS,
TRIER

as the frontispiece to vol. 39 of this BULLETIN. Father Peter Becker of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Matthias at Trier, in the course of his investigations into the history of the Abbey library, has drawn attention to another volume of Trier provenance among our Latin manuscripts, no. 337. The evidence for this identification, first suggested by Dom Bruyne of the Abbey of Maredsous, has been set out in a communication to the Library by Father Becker, the contents of which we have pleasure in printing below.

Rylands Latin MS. 337, a miscellanea of pieces written in hands of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries bound in an early

¹ R. Beer, *op. cit.* p. 67.

stamped binding, was formerly owned by Leander van Ess, from whom it passed to Sir Thomas Phillipps, to become No. 460 in the latter's collections. Its contents, written in a sixteenth-century hand on a strip cut from a larger piece of parchment and pasted on the recto of the first folio, are Bede's *Allegorica expositio de structura templi Salomonis*, the *In cantica canticorum* of Cassiodorus, *Quotationes totius Biblie*, and *Orationes breves*. Such contents' lists, Father Becker points out, are found in other St. Matthias codices and he instances Abteibibl. St. Matthias MS. I/3 and Inc. A.-N. 51/1922, and MSS. 43/1009, 72/1056 and 617/1553 of the Stadtbibliothek at Trier, each of which contains a list set out in the same sixteenth-century hand as that which wrote the list in the Rylands manuscript. St. Matthias codices, too, usually contain a property-note which is found in variant forms between the eleventh century and the eighteenth. Such a note appears to have been written above the contents' list in the Rylands manuscript, and, although it has been cut off, sufficient traces remain at the top of the strip for Father Becker to conjecture that it was probably of the shorter form used in the eighteenth century ("Codex San-Mathiae"); the strip itself may well have been cut from a parchment cover or first folio and pasted in the Rylands manuscript. Further, at the foot of the contents' list an eighteenth-century hand has written the figures "277". The same hand is responsible for similar figures in other St. Matthias codices and it would seem that, with these, our manuscript was included in an eighteenth-century library list, now unfortunately missing. But a catalogue of the Abbey library made about 1530 has survived and in this the Rylands manuscript appears as No. F 40.¹ Phillipps probably acquired the volume in 1824 when he purchased *en bloc* the manuscript collections of van Ess, who possessed other codices which had

¹ No. 274 in J. Montebaur, "Studien zur Geschichte der Bibliothek der Abtei St. Eucharius—Matthias zu Trier" (*Röm. Quartalschrift*, 26. Supplementheft (1931)); the full description of the contents corresponds exactly and agrees almost verbatim with that given in the list pasted in the Rylands manuscript. See also Petrus Becker, "Notizen zur Bibliotheksgeschichte der Abtei St. Eucharius", p. 42, off-printed from *Armara Trevirensia. Beiträge zur Trierer Bibliotheksgeschichte* (Trier, 1960).

belonged to this Abbey.¹ Most of the former St. Matthias manuscripts have, however, remained in Trier and Rylands Latin MS. 337 appears to be a rare stray.

The manuscript has an early German stamped binding, the sides of which are divided by a broad fillet and two narrow ones into a frame and an inner rectangle, the latter subdivided by diagonals. At the outer corners of the rectangle on each cover are roundels containing roses. Above and below these, four other roundels contain, twice, the paschal lamb and St. Katherine, each pair joined horizontally by a rectangular label in which is "Hilf Maria". Immediately above and below these labels two other lozenges show God the Father(?) with an orb. Father Becker points out that these devices occur on other known St. Matthias bindings. The lamb and St. Katherine, for example, are found on Abteibibl. St. Matthias MS. I/3 and Inc. A.-N. 51/1922, already mentioned above in connection with the contents' list, and the rose is a frequent device, as is the "Hilf Maria". Goldschmidt² refers to an incunable from St. Matthias which has a general similarity of design, including the "Hilf Maria" and paschal lamb, while MS. 229/1397 in the Stadtbibliothek at Trier, also known to have come from the Abbey, combines, like Ryl. Latin MS. 337, all these devices.

Among recent gifts to the Library two are of special interest. The first, *La legatura artistica in Italia nei secoli XV e XVI*, by Commendatore Tammara de Marinis, is most welcome, not only from its intrinsic merit, but from the happy circumstances of its presentation. A Manchester businessman, Mr. V. G. Funduklian, expressed the desire to mark the centenary of the extension of the family business by his grandfather and great-uncle from Constantinople to Manchester, by the purchase for the Library of some book of importance. He has expressed his approval of the selection of this fine work on a fascinating subject, which has not hitherto been adequately treated. The book does not absorb the

PRINTED
BOOKS :
ACCESSIONS
BY GIFT

¹ See Becker, op. cit. pp. 41, 42, 45, 48.

² *Gothic and Renaissance Bookbinding* (London, 1928), i. 160-1.

whole sum which Mr. Funduklian wishes to give and a further work is to be purchased which will be reported in the next "Notes and News".

In the field of fine printing three additions have been made to our private presses collection, one book from each of the Essex House, Eragny and Vale Presses. These were the gift of Mr. C. G. H. Simon, his brother Mr. Anthony Simon and his sister, Mrs. M. E. H. Goldsmith. This gift, pleasing as it is, might have been very much greater, for the list submitted to the Library was a very long one including an almost complete set of the productions of the Kelmscott Press and groups of books from other private presses. So strong, however, is the Library's collection of the work of the greater private presses, that the items now presented were the only three not already on the Library shelves.

Among the large collection of political pamphlets acquired by Mrs. Rylands as part of the Spencer collection are six volumes in which are bound some fifty tracts relating to the bitter controversy which followed the publication of the bull "Unigenitus" by Pope Clement XI on 8 September, 1713. Most of these tracts were published between 1725 and 1735 and include official statements by the leading opponents of the bull, Cardinal Archbishop Noailles and the "appellant" bishops. This collection has, by a recent purchase, been supplemented by ten volumes containing about 170 items dealing with the same theme and covering a longer period, from 1716 to 1745. At the instance of Louis XIV, who was determined to suppress Jansenism, the Pope appointed a committee in February 1712 to examine Quesnel's "Reflexions morales", the extended edition of which, "Le Nouveau Testament en Français", 1693-4, bore the approbation of Noailles, at that time Bishop of Châlons. The committee censured 101 propositions taken verbatim from the book, and the "Unigenitus" condemned these and found fault with many unspecified portions of the book, and with the translation of the New Testament. On receipt of the bull the king sent it to Noailles, who had by this time withdrawn his approbation, and summoned an assembly of

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ACCESSIONS
BY PURCHASE

the clergy to accept it. Noailles, strongly opposed to unconditional acceptance and supported by no less than fifteen bishops, was unable to force his will on the assembly, but forbade his clergy to accept it unless authorized by him to do so. The Pope would have divested Noailles of the purple but was restrained by the insistence of the king and the courts on the preservation of the Gallican "liberties". It was suggested that the matter should be submitted to a national council, and, in the meantime, the universities of the Sorbonne, Nantes and Rheims rejected the bull. After the death of Louis, the Regent,—Orléans, was far from zealous in furthering the acceptance of the bull, but by 1720 Noailles and most of the opposition bishops had fallen into line. The four bishops who had first appealed to the National Council, Senez, Boulogne, Montpellier and Mirepoix to whom the name "appellants" has been given, renewed their appeal. This phase of the conflict is amply covered in the collection by printed letters, both pastoral and personal, of the Archbishop and the "appellants", addresses to and arrêts of the courts and attacks on the "appellants" by the supporters of the bull.

After the death of the Regent, power passed to the hands of Fleury, former tutor to the young king, who determined to make an example of Soanen, Bishop of Senez, the bitterest opponent of the bull. Soanen, a man over eighty years old, was in 1727 deprived of his see by the Council of Embrun and sent to a remote monastery in the Auvergne. This decision enraged the Jansenists and gave rise to a flood of pamphlets, many of which find a place in this collection.

The strong sense of persecution under which the Jansenists laboured was responsible for an outburst of religious hysteria, one manifestation of which was a great readiness to give credence to miracles. The most striking instance of this was the tremendous interest aroused by "the miracles of S. Médard", a series of supposed miraculous cures, mainly of nervous diseases, effected at the tomb of François de Paris, a young Jansenist cleric, a wholehearted opponent of the "Unigenitus", who died in 1727. To this hysteria we may also trace the behaviour of the "Convulsionnaires", who, by self-torture, worked themselves into a state of ecstasy in which they made prophecies and cured diseases.

The considerable pamphlet literature, both official and unofficial, arising from these two aspects of the struggle is well represented in the collection.

The volumes, several of which bear an *ex-libris* inscription of the Abbey of S. Volusian at Foix, cover the whole story of the attempt to force acceptance of the "Unigenitus" on the French clergy, and illustrate the opposition Cardinal Fleury met from the courts, most of which were strongly Gallican in sentiment and looked on the bull as a triumph for their enemies, the Jesuits. Under their influence opposition to the "Unigenitus" and a love for civil and religious liberty became almost synonymous. It was the type of man who had engaged in this struggle who later had a great share in the suppression of the Jesuits, and took some little part in the beginnings of the French Revolution.

This collection is not only valuable in itself as a record of an important aspect of the history of France in the eighteenth century, but its picture of the intellectual climate of the mid-eighteenth century gives it value in relation to the great French Revolutionary collection available in this Library.

At the invitation of the Manchester Branch of the Franco-British Society an exhibition of representative materials from the Library's French Revolutionary collections was arranged during the week from 12 to 19 November 1960. The Exhibition was opened by Professor A. Goodwin, Professor of Modern History in the University of Manchester and a leading authority on the French Revolution, who gave an introductory survey of the collections and their history and indicated some of the more outstanding features. Dr. Norman Hampson, Lecturer in French History and Institutions in the University of Manchester, has kindly given the following report on the exhibition.

THE FRENCH-
REVOLUTION-
ARY COLLEC-
TIONS: A
LIBRARY
EXHIBITION

"The exhibition of pamphlets, tracts, broadsides, journals, periodicals and newspapers from the Library's French Revolutionary collections combined material of particular interest and value to the historian with items having a more dramatic and general appeal. In the former instance the various publications on view served to illustrate the recent survey of these collections

made by Professor Goodwin which was published in a recent number of this BULLETIN.¹ The pamphlets, tracts and broadsides in the Library fall into three main groups—the Rowan and Adolphus tracts and a miscellaneous series of pamphlets, 15,000 of which were deposited in the Library by Lord Crawford in 1946. The pamphlets were represented in the exhibition by a carton which included a copy of the speech made by the Robespierriest agent of the Committee of Public Safety, Marc-Antoine Jullien, at Rochefort in defence of the *journée* of 9 thermidor. The Rowan tracts contributed the Abbé Baudeau's attack on Calonne and specimens from the Adolphus tracts and from the nineteen volumes of pamphlets collected on behalf of Talleyrand were also on view.

“The library's extensive collection of rare revolutionary newspapers was well represented by the publications of Mirabeau, Mallet du Pan, Barère, Loustalot, Desmoulins, Marat, Hébert and others. Peltier's *Actes des Apôtres* lay open at a page where an ironical engraving contrasting the martial exploits of comte d'Albert de Rioms with those of Charles de Lameth showed both the tone of the periodical and the fine quality of its illustrations when compared, for example, with the popular art of the *Révolutions de Paris*. After copies of the various revolutionary constitutions, from 1791 to 1799, came a selection of British material: newspapers, broadsheets and pamphlets, concerning the Revolution. A cartoon from one of these showed a virtuous John Bull resisting the temptations of a French serpent offering him various revolutionary poisons—including that of democracy.

“The period of the Terror was represented by the Bulletins of both of the revolutionary tribunals, a printed list of suspects arrested after the 9 thermidor and the table of controlled prices established in each *district* by reason of the third *maximum* of 21-22 February, 1794. Specimens of the library's mounted folio copies of the *Bulletin de la Convention Nationale* were also on view, including a singularly euphemistic account by Carrier of the *noyades* at Nantes.

“The manuscript section, besides the register of payments made to members of the *comités révolutionnaires* in 1793 described

¹ Vol. 42, No. 1 (September 1959), pp. 8-14.

by Mr. R. B. Rose,¹ included one of the ten volumes of the gazette of Renéle Prêtre de Châteaugiron, miscellaneous documents from le Havre of a primarily personal character (tax assessments, *certificats de civisme*, etc.) and a book of naval tactics in use in the Brest fleet during the winter of 1793-4. This last, which bears the signatures of Delmotte, chief of staff to rear-admiral Villaret de Joyeuse, and of the captain of the *America*, includes a table of signals in which the names of all ships in the Brest fleet have been inserted in manuscript.

"Several exhibits were remarkable for their appeal to the imagination. Such was the placard, printed on silk, of the king's speech at the opening of the Estates General, from which a republican hand had excised all royal titles and emblems. Robespierre's personal copy of the bound volume of his *Défenseur de la Constitution* was perhaps the most noteworthy item in this category. Where the character of the individual publication itself was less striking, material had been so displayed as to present comment on the more important or dramatic events of the Revolution, with the result that the exhibition as a whole provided much of general interest besides offering the historian a visual indication of the extent of the library's collection, its comprehensiveness and its rarer treasures."

The following is a list of recent Library Publications, consisting of reprints of articles which appeared in the latest issue of the BULLETIN (September 1960):

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"The Court Festivals of Henry VII: a Study Based Upon the Account Books of John Heron, Treasurer of the Chamber". By Sydney Anglo, Research Fellow of the University of Reading. 8vo, pp. 44. Price six shillings net.

"Henry VI and the Duke of York's Second Protectorate, 1455 to 1456". By J. R. Lander, Lecturer in History, University College of Ghana. 8vo, pp. 24. Price five shillings net.

" 'Tragical-Comical-Historical-Pastoral': Elizabethan Dramatic Nomenclature". By Allardyce Nicoll, Professor of

¹ See "The Revolutionary Committees of the Paris Sections in 1793: A Manuscript (French 110) in the John Rylands Library", in BULLETIN, vol. 35, No. 1 (September 1952).

English Language and Literature in the University of Birmingham and Director of the Shakespeare Institute. 8vo, pp. 18. Price four shillings net.

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SIR JOHN BOWRING AND THE ARROW WAR IN CHINA

By G. F. BARTLE, M.A.

THE purchase of some of the Papers of Sir John Bowring by the John Rylands' Library in 1958¹ and the preservation of large numbers of his private letters in several other manuscript collections, which have recently been made available, such as the Clarendon Deposit at the Bodleian Library, have drawn attention to one of the most neglected of early Victorian radical politicians, whose significance has been largely missed by students of the period. There is in fact at present no adequate biography of Bowring, though a collection of his Papers was carelessly put together after his death in 1872 by one of his sons under the title of *The Autobiographical Recollections of Sir John Bowring*.² *The Dictionary of National Biography*, indeed, devotes several pages to an outline of his career but the account is incomplete and somewhat misleading. Such references to Bowring as have appeared in other works are frequently inaccurate—even in matters of fact—and he has usually been portrayed in an entirely unfavourable light.

This is unfortunate, for if Bowring was indeed something of the busybody and jobber that his enemies have made him out to be, he was yet a person of considerable ability and astonishing versatility, whose career is worthy of some attention. The eldest son of a Unitarian cloth merchant at Exeter, he started life as an unsuccessful wine and herring merchant in the City of London but soon succeeded in making something of a reputation for himself as a linguist and traveller. This reputation was increased when in 1820 he obtained an introduction to the aged philosopher Bentham, and quickly secured a hold over Bentham's affections, which lasted until the philosopher's death. For six years, whilst

¹Now Rylands English MSS. 1228-34.

²L. B. Bowring, *The Autobiographical Recollections of Sir John Bowring* (London, 1877).

his intimacy with Bentham grew, he played an energetic part in radical politics, first in connection with liberal movements in Spain and France and then as Secretary of the London Greek Committee—as important phase of his career which ended disastrously when he became involved in the Greek Loan scandals of 1826. A year later business difficulties obliged him to seek fresh means of employment and he attempted, unsuccessfully, to obtain an appointment first at London University and then in government service, as a Commissioner of Public Accounts. He managed, however, in spite of opposition from the Mills, to retain the editorship of the *Westminster Review*, to which Bentham had appointed him, and his editorial salary, supplemented by literary earnings, enabled him to provide for his large family for several years.

In 1830 a fresh stage of his career opened, when the new Whig government appointed him first as secretary of the Public Accounts Committee and then as commercial investigator on behalf of the Board of Trade. This work was particularly suited to his talents and for ten years he carried out investigations in many parts of western Europe and the Levant, publishing the results of his enquiries in government Blue Books. He also attempted, though without much success, to obtain commercial agreements favourable to Britain in France, Belgium, Egypt and Prussia. The failure of his efforts to persuade these foreign governments to lower their duties on British manufactured goods convinced him of the need to abolish the tariffs on corn and other foreign imports into Britain and he became a zealous advocate of Free Trade. In 1841 he secured election to Parliament as Member for Bolton, one of the most radical factory towns in the north (he had already for a short period been Member for Kilmarnock) and at Westminster he devoted much of his time to advocating the aims of the Anti-Corn Law League, though he also supported many other liberal causes, both at home and abroad. With the return of the Whigs to power in 1846, following the repeal of the Corn Laws, he again attempted to secure public employment, particularly after the economic depression of the following year had involved him in considerable financial loss, as the result of immoderate speculation in railway and industrial shares. In

1848, therefore, he was selected by Palmerston as Consul at Canton and he sailed to China early in the following year. Five years later, after a period of leave in England, he was appointed H.M. Plenipotentiary and Chief Superintendent of Trade in the Far East and granted a knighthood. He was also made Governor of Hong-Kong.

It is not the purpose of this study to examine in detail Bowring's career as a radical politician before his arrival in China, unjustly neglected though this part of his political career has been.¹ But it is worth recalling that the serious faults of character which were to become so apparent in his dealings with the Chinese had already revealed themselves on many occasions before his appointment to the Far East. For Bowring, if he reflected many of the virtues of the radical non-conformist middle-class from which he came, also exhibited some of its worst defects. Somewhat unscrupulous in his methods, as his part in the Greek Loan Scandals of 1826 had testified,² and showing, in spite of his zeal for liberal causes, little real understanding of human nature, he had succeeded by his vanity, tactlessness and intolerance in involving himself in disputes in almost every activity with which he had been concerned. Even in his most useful rôle as commercial investigator and Free Trade propagandist—and the several volumes of commercial reports which he produced between 1834 and 1840 were amongst the most valuable public documents of their time³—his impetuosity had led him to commit indiscretions which had contributed to the failure of his foreign missions and enabled steadier agents to achieve greater success in negotiation. It should have been clear, therefore, as his political opponents frequently asserted, that, for all his intelligent interest in the

¹ A detailed study of Bowring's political career down to 1849 has been made in G. F. Bartle, "The Political Career of Sir John Bowring (1792-1872) between 1820 and 1849", an unpublished London M.A. Thesis in the University of London Library. This work contains a full bibliography of Bowring's career down to 1849.

² For Bowring's activities as a speculator during the Greek Loan Scandals, see *Cobbett's Political Register*, vol. lx (1826), quoting *The Times* and other newspapers of the day.

³ A recent assessment of Bowring's rôle as commercial investigator is to be found in L. M. Brown, *The Board of Trade and the Free Trade Movement* (Oxford, 1958).

Chinese way of life, he was ill equipped to provide the tact, patience and moderation which were essential if British officials were to be successful in their dealings with Chinese Mandarins.

The situation in China, and particularly at Canton, at the time Bowring arrived in the Far East was, indeed, a very difficult one. By the Treaty of Nanking, concluded between the British Plenipotentiary, Sir Henry Pottinger, and Chinese Imperial Commissioners after the first China war, five treaty ports, including Canton, which had formerly had the monopoly of western trade, had been officially opened to European merchants. In spite of this Treaty, however, the local Mandarins at Canton, who regarded all westerners as barbarians and particularly resented the loss of their former privileges, made every effort to hedge around the European merchants with restrictions, denying the right of even Consular officials to enter the old city and refusing to have any dealings with them on equal terms. Inevitably these restrictions led to frequent protests from the British authorities, who accused the Chinese of failing to observe the terms of the Treaty of 1842.¹ All attempts, however, to solve the "city question" by peaceful negotiations failed and when Bowring came out as Consul in 1849 he, too, found himself restricted to the narrow limits of the European factory area, where, ignored by the Chinese Mandarins and little noticed even by his own superior, the British Plenipotentiary at Hong-Kong, who distrusted his zeal for reform, he passed three lonely and ineffective years.²

When Bowring himself, however, became Plenipotentiary and Chief Superintendent of Trade in 1854, the situation rapidly began to change. As an ardent exponent of the benefits of Free Trade, he was determined not only to solve the city question at Canton but to secure a general extension of commercial and diplomatic facilities in China including direct representation at the Imperial capital, Peking. In this policy he was supported

¹ For the long negotiations between the British Plenipotentiaries and the Chinese authorities see W. C. Costin, *Great Britain and China, 1833-1860* (Oxford, 1937). This study is mainly based on the official dispatches in the Foreign Office records.

² Bowring's correspondence with his sons Edgar and Frederick, preserved in Rylands Eng. MSS. 1228-9, vividly illustrates his loneliness and frustration at Canton.

both by the Foreign Secretary, Lord Clarendon (who as George Villiers had, years earlier, accompanied Bowring on his commercial missions to France and had recently been responsible for his appointment as Plenipotentiary), and by various commercial interests in Britain, such as the East India and China Association, who saw in the development of trade with China a vast market for British goods. The high hopes of Bowring and his supporters, however, were soon disappointed, for the outbreak of the Crimean War made it impossible for the government to provide the new Plenipotentiary with sufficient ships to make any impression on the Chinese authorities, much less secure a revision of the Treaty of Nanking. Consequently Bowring's efforts to obtain an interview inside Canton with the Chinese Imperial Commissioner, Yeh, were once again a complete failure and his expedition, in company with the American Commissioner, to the Peiho river leading to Peking, was equally barren of success.¹ To make matters worse, he managed, during this first year, to arouse the hostility of the British merchants both at Shanghai and at Hong-Kong by his tactless and overbearing methods of administration and he also earned himself a severe reprimand from Lord Clarendon for failing to carry out the instructions of the government over the collection of certain arrear customs duties at Shanghai.²

In 1855, however, Bowring's ill fortune at last changed when he succeeded, by a policy of threats thinly disguised under a veneer of benevolence, in extorting an advantageous commercial treaty from the government of Siam.³ The methods which he used on this occasion finally convinced him that it was only by using the threat of force that he could persuade orientals to come to terms. Whilst still at Bangkok he had urged Clarendon to allow him to "open China" as he had opened Siam, with the

¹ For Bowring and McLane's visit to the Peiho in 1854, see Costin, *op. cit.* pp. 186 ff. The expedition is also described in Bowring's private correspondence with Lord Clarendon (MSS. Clar. Dep. C.19) and with his son, Edgar Bowring (Rylands Eng. MS. 1228).

² See Bowring's private correspondence with Lord Clarendon and with his son, Edgar Bowring, during 1854-5.

³ Bowring's expedition to Siam as described in his book *The Kingdom and People of Siam* (1857), ii. 248 ff.; see also his private correspondence with Clarendon (MSS. Clar. Dep. C.37), and with Edgar Bowring (Rylands Eng. MS. 1228).

"instruments of peace" in his hand but with "a co-operative naval force" under his command¹ and after his return to Hong-Kong his demands for a forceful policy became more and more insistent. Two years later, after this policy had got Bowring into trouble, he went to considerable lengths to declare his entire disapproval of "strong language and a sloop of war to support it", reminding the public of his services to the cause of Free Trade and his lifelong membership of the Peace Society.² In 1855 and 1856, however, there was nothing either in his dispatches or in his private letters to suggest that he ever hesitated to recommend violent means if these would help to secure the great objective of opening China to European commerce. "We have been trifled with—tantalized too long", he wrote to Clarendon late in 1855, "a natural result of our temporizing and hesitations—to suppose that our motives have been understood . . . is to be ignorant of the oriental mind—that mind never distinguishes between the will to do—and the power of doing—never attributes forbearance to anything but impotence or dreams that hesitations can have any source but a sense of infirmity. . . ."³ "I hope the three governments [that is, the three Treaty powers, Britain, France and the United States] will see that if they seriously intend to extend our relations they must be prepared for very strong measures", he urged the Foreign Secretary more boldly in July 1856, "not that there will be any necessity for resorting to them—but the *Chinese must believe* that we mean to have a change".⁴

Bowring's demands for strong measures were not lost upon the British Government. Both the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary, Lord Clarendon, shared his conviction that only joint action by the three western powers backed by a sufficient naval force would persuade the Chinese to grant the concessions they desired.⁵ Their determination to provide this force, once the Crimean war was over, was strengthened by the promise of co-operation from France and the United States, both of which

¹ Bowring to Clarendon, 6 April 1855 (MSS. Clar. Dep. C. 37).

² See "Lammer Moor", Bowring, *Cobden and China*, 1857.

³ Bowring to Clarendon, 27 November 1855 (C. 37).

⁴ Bowring to Clarendon, 5 July 1856 (MSS. Clar. Dep. C. 37).

⁵ Costin, *op. cit.* p. 201.

had grievances of their own against the Chinese Mandarins. Before, however, their plans for a strong allied expedition to the Peiho in the spring of 1857 could be completed, the situation was drastically transformed by events which occurred at Canton. There, relations with the Chinese authorities had remained as unsatisfactory as ever, as all attempts to secure admittance into the city had been frustrated by the obstinacy of Yeh.¹ Bowring had become increasingly impatient with the Imperial Commissioner's attitude, which he described as "absolutely intolerable" and he was determined, if possible, before the allied expedition to the north, to bring the dispute with Yeh to a settlement. As he wrote to Clarendon in September 1856,

I am convinced there is no course so safe nor so wise as to demand an official, personal and becoming reception at his Yamun within the city for the purpose of discussing face to face the grievances of which we have to complain. The demand for such a reception must be made in the presence of ships of war which shall be instructed to accompany and protect the envoy. . . . I do not believe access would finally be denied—though a show of resistance there would undoubtedly be. Such a measure would exhaust our efforts with the Imperial Commissioner . . . no doubt this would be excellent groundwork for a movement upon Peking. . . .²

The opportunity to intervene at Canton in the manner Bowring recommended was dramatically presented on 8 October 1856. On the morning of that day, a lorch, the *Arrow*, owned by a Chinese merchant resident at Hong-Kong and manned by Chinese but captained by an Englishman and registered at the colony under an ordinance issued by Bowring in 1856, was boarded as it was about to sail from Canton by a party of Chinese soldiers, who carried off twelve of the crew on a charge of piracy.³ Whether, as the master of the *Arrow* asserted, the British ensign was hauled down by the Chinese, or whether as the Chinese declared, the

¹ Several extracts from Bowring's official correspondence with Yeh in 1854-5 are included in *Correspondence relative to Entrance into Canton, 1850-1855*. Parliamentary Papers (1857), xii. 19 ff.

² Bowring to Clarendon, 9 September 1856 (C. 57).

³ An account of the *Arrow* incident and its aftermath, based on official dispatches, is given in Costin, op. cit. pp. 206 ff.; see also the published extracts from dispatches included in *Proceedings of H.M. Naval Forces at Canton*, Parliamentary Papers (1857), xii. 51 ff. Many of these dispatches have recently been reproduced in D. B. Smith and E. W. R. Lumby, *The Second China War* (Navy Records Society Publications, vol. xciv), London, 1954.

flag had not been flying at the time, has never been definitely established. But it is difficult to believe that the Chinese were not aware that the *Arrow*, which was well known at the port, at least claimed to be entitled to British protection. The incident was at once reported to the British Consul at Canton, Harry Parkes, a young official of exceptional energy and assurance, who had accompanied Bowring to Siam in 1855, and he reacted with characteristic determination. After attempting, in vain, to persuade the officers in charge of the boarding party to set the prisoners free, he wrote to Yeh demanding the immediate return of the whole crew of the lorch, promising that if any crime had been committed he would himself conduct a full investigation. At the same time he wrote to Bowring giving an account of the incident. Two days later, nine of the men were brought to the Consulate, accompanied by a letter from Yeh, in which the Imperial Commissioner denied that the *Arrow* was a British vessel, entitled to British protection, and reasserted the charge of piracy against the remaining three of the crew. Parkes, however, refused to receive the nine men on the grounds that they had not been delivered to him in the manner he had stipulated. He admitted that the charge of piracy might be true but argued that this was beside the point, which was whether British ships were to be free from Chinese interference, as laid down in supplementary clauses to the Treaty of Nanking, or whether, as he wrote to Bowring, they were to be "boarded by Chinese military, without any communication being made to the Consul, to have their national flag hauled down, and their crews carried away as prisoners".¹

Parkes account of the *Arrow* incident made a considerable impression upon Bowring and he lost no time in assuring the Consul of his full support. He informed Parkes that the licence of the *Arrow* had expired on 27 September and that the vessel was, strictly speaking, not entitled to British protection. But he added that the Chinese had no knowledge of this fact and consequently no right to violate the supplementary Treaty of Nanking. He instructed Parkes to demand a written apology from Yeh as well as to insist on the immediate return of all twelve men from the

¹ Parkes to Bowring, 11 October 1856 (P.P. 1857, xii. 61).

lorcha and authorized him, in the event of the Imperial Commissioner not complying within forty days, to "call upon the naval authorities" to assist him in gaining redress.¹ Privately Bowring was delighted by the opportunity which the incident presented of bringing to a head the long unresolved deadlock at Canton, particularly as naval reinforcements had at last begun to reach Hong-Kong. "I am not sorry this affair of the *Arrow* has occurred," he wrote to Clarendon, "the lesson will be a very useful one and may lead to many practical results. I think this is a more efficient and becoming intervention than the stoppage of duties and interruption of trade".² "I think this mode of action more worthy of a Great Nation than the stoppage of duties and disturbance of trade", he assured Edgar Bowring the same day, "out of these troubled waters I expect to extract some healing food".³

Meanwhile, at Canton events were beginning to move to a climax. On 14 October, Parkes, who had received an unsatisfactory reply to his ultimatum demanding an apology, ordered the seizure by naval personnel of a Chinese junk. This reprisal, however, made no impression upon Yeh, who continued to insist that the *Arrow* was a Chinese vessel, not entitled to British protection and that his officers had acted correctly in arresting its crew on a charge of piracy. Six days later Parkes came to Hong-Kong, where he conferred with Bowring and Admiral Seymour, Commander of the Naval Forces in the Far East, on the next measures to be adopted. It was agreed, on Parkes's recommendation, that operations should be directed by the navy against forts between Whampoa (where the large merchant ships normally lay at anchor) and Canton, and then if Yeh still remained obdurate, that similar action should be taken against the forts and Imperial residence itself. It was also agreed, on Bowring's insistence, that the grounds of dispute should be widened and the opportunity taken to compel Yeh to receive H.M. Plenipotentiary at his Yamun in the city. ". . . We must write a bright page in our history", he exhorted Parkes next day, in one of the constant

¹ Bowring to Parkes, 11 October 1856 (*ibid.* p. 65).

² Bowring to Clarendon, 16 October 1856 (C. 57).

³ Bowring to Edgar Bowring, 16 October 1856 (Rylands Eng. MS. 1228).

messages he dispatched to the Consul at this time, "I hope you will not lose sight of the city question. You will not demand it, of course,—but you will have an opportunity of saying what will help its settlement. . . . I trust to your sagacity to get all that is to be got out of this movement—I will appear in the field whenever my presence may seem desirable."¹

Victory, however, was far from being as swift as Bowring and Parkes anticipated. On 22 October Yeh responded to Parkes's latest ultimatum by sending all twelve men of the *Arrow's* crew to the Consulate. But he refused to supply a written apology for his actions and this, together with his failure to comply with Parkes's exact instructions for the return of the men, persuaded the Consul once more to reject the prisoners. Next day Admiral Seymour opened fire on the Whampoa forts and four days later, having received no satisfactory reply from Yeh to a peremptory demand for free admittance into Canton, he began a steady bombardment of the city itself. To this the Imperial Commissioner replied by issuing a proclamation commanding all Chinese citizens to exterminate the barbarians and offering a reward of thirty dollars for each English life. Nevertheless, on 29 October, the naval forces breached the city wall and in the afternoon Parkes and Seymour, accompanied by a small party, entered Canton and made their way to the Imperial Yamun. Yeh, however, had left shortly before their arrival and in spite of all their efforts to trace him, the party were obliged to leave the city and return to their ships at dusk, without discovering his hiding-place. During the next few days, whilst Admiral Seymour continued his attacks on forts and junks in the neighbourhood of Canton, Bowring and Parkes dispatched further ultimatums to the Imperial Commissioner and his subjects threatening "more sudden and terrible things" if they refused to receive H.M. Plenipotentiary within the city.² The bombardment of Canton, however, far from breaking Yeh's resistance, only strengthened his determination to repel the invaders.

The refusal of Yeh to submit placed Bowring in something of a dilemma. The dispute had assumed such large proportions,

¹ Bowring to Parkes, 21 October 1856. Quoted in S. Lane-Poole, *The Life of Sir Harry Parkes* (1894), i. 245.

² Bowring to the People of Canton, 6 November 1856 (P.P. 1857, xii. 122).

involving the whole question of British relations at Canton and no longer just the small affair of the *Arrow*, that it was impossible for him to withdraw from his position. On the other hand, the limited naval forces at his disposal and the lack of authority to employ military forces from the Hong-Kong garrison, without express approval from London, made any permanent occupation of Canton out of the question. In these circumstances it is not surprising that he should have become somewhat alarmed at the consequences of his action. The complete breakdown of trade which had followed Admiral Seymour's attack on Canton had aroused protests not only from the Chinese but from some western merchants and though Bowring had the support of the whole British commercial community, he was uncertain how far his policy would obtain the approval of public opinion at home and in the United States. "I hope it will be my good fortune to terminate this work of war at Canton as satisfactorily as the work of peace in Siam", he wrote to Clarendon on 14 November, "the demonstration must have the very best effect upon our future negotiations. I believe there never was so much unanimity as in the approval of the course we have taken. The conduct of the Admiral has been most admirable . . . Parkes and indeed all the officials have behaved most satisfactorily. All has been auspicious—an increased force in the garrison—a fine season of the year—before all I hope for *your* approval and I do not believe it will be wanting."¹ Three days after this letter, Bowring himself paid a visit to the Canton factories in one more belated attempt to persuade the Imperial Commissioner to receive him within the city. But again his efforts were completely unsuccessful, for neither threats nor appeals for a settlement on grounds of "world order and harmony" (which came strangely from one who had already authorized the bombardment of the city), succeeded in turning Yeh from his "headstrong course".²

The situation was still unchanged when in December, after a month of desultory skirmishing around the city suburbs and more destruction of forts along the river, the struggle entered a new and more alarming phase. On 14 December Chinese

¹ Bowring to Clarendon, 14 November 1856 (C. 57).

² Bowring to Yeh, 14 November 1856 (P.P. 1857, xii. 90).

"braves" set on fire and almost completely destroyed the European quarter of the factories, gutting the Consulate and causing the death of a young nephew of Bowring's whom he had appointed as a Consular assistant at Canton.¹ Most of the other residents had already left the European settlement and there was no further loss of human life. But the burning of the warehouses of the hated westerners made a considerable impression upon the Chinese and stimulated them to further acts of daring. During the next weeks, frequent raids were made by war junks and fire ships, carrying "stinkbombs", on vessels lying in the river and these attacks culminated on 29 December in the capture and complete massacre of all Europeans on board the postal steamer *Thistle*, which was on its way from Canton to Hong-Kong.²

The emergency reached its climax on 11 January 1857 when, a few days after a proclamation by Yeh ordering all Chinese merchants and servants to leave the colony, an attempt was made to poison the whole European population of Hong-Kong, by putting arsenic in their bread. Fortunately for Bowring and his family and for the other members of the community, the poisoners made the mistake of overdosing the arsenic and their victims suffered nothing worse than severe attacks of sickness and headache.³ But the incident caused the greatest alarm and together with the appearance of threatening placards, offering rewards for the heads of Europeans, scared the colonial administration into taking repressive measures against the Chinese. Eventually after Bowring, to his credit, had "peremptorily refused" martial law and insisted on a proper trial, the baker of the poisoned bread and other suspects were acquitted for lack of evidence and allowed to leave the colony. But their sufferings in jail, where they had been confined for several weeks under shockingly inadequate conditions, must have been considerable.⁴ Meanwhile Bowring, seriously concerned about the dangerous situation at Hong-Kong, sent out belated appeals for military reinforcements from India and Singapore.

¹ Bowring to Clarendon (official dispatch), 16 December 1856 (ibid. p. 194).

² Bowring to Clarendon (official dispatch), 31 December 1856 (ibid. p. 305).

³ See Bowring to Clarendon, 19 January 1857 (MSS. Clar. Dep. C. 71); also Bowring to Edgar Bowring, 20 January 1857 (Rylands Eng. MS. 1228).

⁴ *The Treatment of Chinese Prisoners at Hong-Kong after the Poison Plot* (P.P. 1857-8, xliii. 519 ff.).

He also insisted on greater naval protection from Admiral Seymour who, in order to strengthen his communications with Hong-Kong, was forced to withdraw some miles downstream from the Canton factory area, leaving the Chinese to destroy such European installations as had survived their previous incendiarism and his own bombardments. By February 1857 the British were on the defensive throughout the whole of the Canton area. At the height of these misfortunes, Bowring still claimed to remain optimistic about the future. As he wrote to Clarendon late in January,

I cannot but think the character of the hostilities directed against us will excite much indignation against their authors. I shall personally look with satisfaction on the doubts and darkness of our present position if beyond it I—or those who may more worthily represent their country—are able to look to the dawning of a better day. I have endeavoured at every stage to carry with me the concurring sympathies of the other powers and if their governments respond to their communications, China will find the whole of the western world arraigned against her and to such an opposing influence she cannot but yield.

At the same time he was somewhat apprehensive lest Yeh's successful defiance should have unpleasant repercussions elsewhere in China and he informed the Foreign Secretary that he had done his best to assure the Imperial Government that he had no quarrel with anybody but Yeh and no intention of resorting to forceful measures in other parts of the country. As he put it :

I have not the ambition which some attribute to me of being the Lord Clive of China—I do *not* contemplate *territorial* dominion—but I *do* anticipate the establishment of an influence which shall not only secure the vast interests now compromised but vastly extend them. . . . The destinies of China some generations hence I desire not to predict—I doubt if any oriental nation can stand against the pressure of the western world—but I think it will be enough to *open* China and adjacent countries to the enterprise of our merchants, the influence of our diplomacy and the action of our civilisation.¹

Whilst Bowring was assuring the Foreign Secretary of his determination to continue his forward policy in China, in spite of temporary setbacks, developments were taking place in England which were destined to take control of that policy out of his hands. The first reports of the *Arrow* incident and of the attack on Canton had reached London in December but it was not until early in the New Year that full accounts appeared in *The Times* and other

newspapers.¹ Public reaction to the news was immediate and varied from enthusiasm for war with China to strong indignation over Bowring's conduct. Most members of the Government, whatever their private reservations on the way in which the conflict had come about, shared Palmerston and Clarendon's view that Bowring's actions at Canton were legally justified and that Yeh needed a firm lesson.² This attitude was also adopted by *The Times* and by the various commercial organizations. But many of the radicals, and also many supporters of Lord Shaftesbury's anti-opium campaign, were loud on their denunciation of Bowring and Parkes. To these reformers the attack on a weaker people like the Chinese was a crime, all the more culpable because it had been carried out in spite of Bowring's knowledge that the register of the *Arrow* had expired and the lorcha was no longer legally entitled to protection.

The indignation over the *Arrow* incident came to a head when Parliament reassembled on 3 February. Almost immediately Palmerston's government was urged by several speakers to publish the official correspondence dealing with the situation at Canton.³ On 24 February, after various Papers, including one collection of correspondence boldly entitled *Insults in China*, had been laid before Parliament, a full debate on the Far Eastern crisis opened in the Lords and this was followed two days later by a similar debate in the Lower House. The tone of these debates was set at once by the Tory leader, Lord Derby, who launched a bitter attack against both Bowring and Parkes. Bowring, he declared, had "a perfect monomania" on the subject of his own admission into Canton, which he thought about day and night, and he was prepared to go to any lengths to obtain it. Consequently, in contrast to Yeh, his letters had been "menacing disrespectful, irritating and arrogant" and he had made no attempt to come to an agreement.⁴ These accusations were repeated by many other speakers in both Houses, notably by Bowring's old friend Cobden, who in a fervent appeal to the national conscience drew attention to the selfishness and violence which had frequently

¹ *The Times*, 2 January 1857.

² Clarendon to Bowring, 10 January 1857 (Costin, op. cit. p. 217).

³ *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. cxliv. 196-7 and 332.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 1155 ff.

characterized British policy in the Far East. There had existed, he declared, "a preconceived design to pick a quarrel with the Chinese" and Bowring and Parkes had made up their minds not to be satisfied. Like Lord Derby he denied that the *Arrow* was a British vessel and he deplored Bowring's dishonesty over the matter of the lorch's outdated register. Over the city question, he pointed out that there were excellent reasons for not persevering in the demand to enter Canton, since the people were "fierce, ungovernable and hostile to England". In taking measures, nevertheless, to enforce this demand, Bowring had violated the principles of international law and had acted contrary to his instructions from the Government.¹

Cobden's speech was one of the most forceful of his career and it made a considerable impression upon the House. In the debate, which continued over the next four days, members as different in their opinions as Lord John Russell, Sir James Graham, Gladstone and Disraeli united in condemning the attack on Canton, characterizing Bowring as "a man more remarkable for his self-confidence than for the soundness of his judgement".² It fell to the Prime Minister, Palmerston, to make the final defence of the events in China and it is clear that, although the Government had managed to obtain a small majority in the Lords, he fully realized that "the temper of the House was disagreeable" and his defeat probable.³ Nevertheless he maintained his position with characteristic pugnacity, taunting Cobden with his "anti-English spirit", praising Bowring as "a man of great talents and of varied attainments, eminently fitted for his situation", and reminding the House that it was the Government's first duty to protect British subjects in China against a "merciless barbarian" such as Yeh.⁴ It was not, however, one of Palmerston's best speeches—the diarist Greville, who believed that most members of the Government privately considered Bowring's conduct indefensible, described it as "dull in its first half hour and very bow-wow in its second"⁵—and it failed to produce a change in

¹ *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. cxliv. pp. 1391. ff.

² Graham's speech (*ibid.* pp. 1552 ff.).

³ Palmerston to Clarendon, 27 February 1857 (MSS. Clar. Dep. C. 69).

⁴ *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser., cxliv. pp. 1809 ff.

⁵ *The Greville Memoirs* (ed. L. Strachey, 1938), ii. 276.

the feelings of the House. When the division was taken, the Government was defeated by sixteen votes and their numbers would have been even lower if some Tory Members had not voted with Palmerston against the "unholy alliance" of Whigs, radicals, "Peelites" and the remainder of the Tory Party.

Two days later, after an interview with the queen, Palmerston announced his intention of appealing to the country. He also informed the House that there would be "no change in the policy of the Government with respect to events in China".¹ In response, however, to widespread demands that a new Plenipotentiary should be dispatched immediately to the Far East, he declared that the Government did intend to send out a new emissary though he gave no details of this appointment. Even before the debates on China had taken place, Palmerston and Clarendon had realized the necessity of replacing Bowring by a new Plenipotentiary with the confidence of the country behind him and the verbal instructions of the Government in his mind. This appointment was settled when, a few days after the Government's defeat in Parliament, the Earl of Elgin, a man of wide diplomatic experience in Canada and elsewhere, agreed to go out to the Far East to restore peace and conclude a new commercial treaty with China.²

Two weeks after Elgin's appointment the General Election took place after a short campaign in which the situation in China almost monopolized the public's attention. It was the heyday of mid-Victorian confidence and prosperity and Cobden's ironical catch-phrase, "Palmerston for ever, no reform and a Chinese war" made little impression upon the electorate. Much more effective was the mail from China bringing details of the arsenic plot at Hong-Kong and of Yeh's proclamation offering rewards for the heads of Englishmen. Such reports appeared to confirm Palmerston's description of Yeh as "an insolent barbarian" who had "violated the British flag, broken the engagement of treaties" and planned the destruction of H.M. subjects "by murder assassination and poisons".³ In the face of such insults to British

¹ *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser., cxliv. 1935.

² See Palmerston to Clarendon, 8 March 1857 (MSS. Clar. Dep. C. 69).

³ Palmerston's Tiverton Election Speech (*The Times*, 24 March 1857).

prestige it was difficult for the supporters of Cobden and Lord Shaftesbury to convince electors that the Chinese were a peace-loving people, who were being bullied into submission by Palmerston's gunboat diplomacy. When polling was held at the end of March, Palmerston's supporters were returned with the largest majority of any Government since 1832 and Cobden, Bright and other "peace radicals" lost their seats in those very northern cities which had been the main stronghold of the Manchester school since 1846. It was a great triumph for Palmerston and his policy of commercial imperialism and a bitter defeat for those reformers whose enthusiasm for international trade was balanced by their devotion to the ideal of world peace.

During the election campaign which led to Palmerston's victory, the allegations which had been made against Bowring in Parliament were repeated by his opponents on political platforms and in the press. Bowring's own absence in China made it impossible for him to defend himself against charges of whose existence he was, indeed, yet unaware, though his son, Edgar, took up his father's defence with energy.¹ During the latter part of March and April, however, full reports of the political storm in England began to reach the Far East. Naturally these drew from Bowring a vigorous defence of his conduct. "The *Arrow* is a very small affair in the general question", he assured Clarendon in April, "though it may have been the drop which caused the overflow of the vase. And I think the Canton events providential—they have not injured the general trade—they were necessary for the revision of treaties—they have not involved any question of *war with China*."² It was only in early May, however, when news of Elgin's appointment as Plenipotentiary reached Hong-Kong that the full implications of the crisis at home became clear. The news was greatly welcomed by the merchants, who believed that the new Plenipotentiary would bring with him large reinforcements to renew the attack on Canton. It was also applauded by Parkes who discerned in it "the finger of One who

¹ See Edgar Bowring's letter to *The Times* on 14 March 1857; see also Edgar Bowring's letter to Lord Granville, urging the Government to vindicate his father's honour (E. Bowring to Granville, 11 March 1857, Granville MSS., P.R.O., 30/29/23).

² Bowring to Clarendon, 12 April 1857 (C. 69).

rules the destinies of nations".¹ For Bowring, however, the suspension of his Plenipotentiary powers was a terrible, if not entirely unexpected, blow, which even Clarendon's private assurance that he thought Bowring's treatment by Parliament had been most unjust,² could not alleviate. It meant the frustration of his ambition to play a leading part in the opening up of China and brought to an untimely end his personal struggle with Yeh. Outwardly he pretended to display a magnanimous attitude to his successor, promising Clarendon that he would lend every assistance to the new Plenipotentiary and assuring Elgin himself of his "heartiest co-operation".³ But he could not avoid feeling bitterly resentful over the treatment he had received both from the Government and Parliament. Thus he complained to his son Edgar,

The way in which I have been personally marked out as the target . . . is characteristic of the *animus* displayed, for there was no step on which the Admiral was not consulted—none which he did not cordially approve and he was the *actor*—not I, who had no power whatever to control that action if I departed from it—which indeed I never did. He is too honourable a man to refuse his share of the responsibility—and has expressed to me his great disgust with the character of the debate.⁴

News of the defeat of his critics in the General Election filled Bowring with a grim satisfaction, in spite of his own former close relations with the peace party. As he observed to Edgar,

Cobden has certainly toppled his own house about his ears in his attempt to sacrifice me. He is smitten by the thunderbolt he invoked on my head—he has injured himself, his cause and his allies and my joy is that the movement against us has benefitted not damaged my friends.⁵

An even greater blow, however, to Bowring than the loss of his Plenipotentiary powers was a dispatch which arrived from the Foreign Office early in June informing him that during Elgin's mission to China, he was not to leave Hong-Kong nor even to communicate with the mandarins. This was particularly distressing for he had long set his heart on a mission to Japan, where he

¹ Lane-Poole, *op. cit.* i. 262.

² Quoted in *Autobiographical Recollections*, p. 25. For Clarendon's earlier private letter to Bowring, warning him that public approval of his conduct would depend on its swift success, see Clarendon to Bowring, 10 February 1857, in Rylands Eng. MS. 1230.

³ Bowring to Clarendon, 21 May 1857 (C. 69).

⁴ Bowring to Edgar Bowring, 8 May 1857 (Rylands Eng. MS. 1228).

⁵ Bowring to Edgar Bowring, 25 May 1857 (Rylands Eng. MS. 1228).

hoped to obtain a treaty as favourable as the one he had concluded in Siam, and he had already been authorized by Clarendon to make such a visit as soon as a ship became available.¹ Full of indignation at the withdrawal of authority to visit Japan (where, indeed, he would have had reasonable chances of a friendly reception),² Bowring wrote a long and angry letter to the Foreign Secretary but finally decided not to send this and vented his feelings on his son Edgar instead, to whom he confessed,

. . . I was certainly unprepared for the bitter humiliation of having the Japanese mission taken out of my hands. This is "the unkindest cut of all" and has inflicted a deeper wound on me than anything that has occurred. This is the reward of my success in Siam—where I created a trade that is become enormous—employing several thousand vessels. I have been devoting myself for years to the study of the Japanese question . . . and now (without a word of explanation) I am superceded. I bent my head resignedly to what was represented to be a Parliamentary necessity in the China affair—but this Japanese wrong is a very cruel and needless injustice—and I assure you is very *very* hard to bear. . . . My first impulse was to throw up the whole business—as I have no hope of fair treatment from the Foreign Office—where some malignant influence seems to follow me in all my doings—but on reflection—I cannot *afford* to do what first impulses dictated—and I *will* bear all—battered and broken as I am—wounded—wearied—wasted—a man whose conduct his masters profess to have approved—but these very masters—these approving masters—give me cups of bitterness and gall to drink.³

In the depths of his self-pity and disappointment Bowring looked around for scapegoats to whom to attribute the "malignant influence" which had persuaded the Foreign Secretary to withdraw the Japanese mission and found the first of these in Edmund Hammond, the Under Secretary at the Foreign Office and an old enemy of Bowring's. With considerably less justice he also attributed his humiliation to the influence of Parkes. During the early months of 1857, when the Consul had been obliged to reside at Hong-Kong after the destruction of the Canton factories, a rapid deterioration of the relationship between Bowring and Parkes had taken place, attributable mainly to Bowring's tendency to blame the Consul as well as Admiral Seymour for the situation which had got him into such trouble at Canton. Only the personal intervention of Seymour, who had a low opinion

¹ See Bowring to Edgar Bowring, 6 April 1856 (Rylands Eng. MS. 1228).

² See *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, xi (1909), 831.

³ Bowring to Edgar Bowring, 11 June 1857 (Rylands Eng. MS. 1228).

of Bowring and warned him that it would be madness to get rid of the most able member of his staff at the juncture, prevented Parkes being sent to Amoy. Parkes, indeed, would have been quite willing to leave Hong-Kong, for, as he wrote to a friend, "little else but a sycophant's part" would now satisfy Bowring and that he was not prepared to play.¹ By the summer of 1857, Bowring had convinced himself that Parkes, as well as his enemies among the merchants, was in league with Hammond and was providing the Foreign Office with information which was being used to secure his own complete humiliation. As he confided to Edgar Bowring in June,

I believe much is attributable to Hammond (who once told me *he* did not mean I should be Plenipotentiary in China), and something perhaps to H.S.P., who owes to me his advancement—but whom I have detected in more than one act of faithlessness. He is Hammond's prompter I know—then the merchants . . . some of whom have publicly said they would not rest till they had overthrown me. Lord Palmerston has nobly supported me—Lord Clarendon very lukewarmly—but when the country reversed the vote of the House of Commons—I think it was not a moment to add bitterness to the bitterness that had gone before. However I try to get rid of the bile within me—and proudly to bow to the hurricane.²

Early in July, Lord Elgin arrived in China and Bowring tried to concentrate his attention on colonial problems and particularly on the relief of the unpleasant situation at Hong-Kong. That same month, however, news of yet another attack on his reputation from an entirely unexpected quarter fully revived all his feelings of indignation. This news concerned the publication of George Borrow's novel *The Romany Rye*, which contained a bitter attack on Bowring, describing him as earning a false literary reputation at the expense of his collaborators in foreign verse translations (of whom, years earlier, Borrow had been a representative), and also as tricking the author out of the appointment of Consul at Canton in 1849.³ After reading this sequel to *Lavengro*, Bowring found it impossible to remain calm and wrote angrily to Edgar,

¹ Lane-Poole, op. cit. p. 260.

² Bowring to Edgar Bowring, 11 June 1857 (Rylands Eng. MS. 1228).

³ See Borrow's Appendix, "The Old Radical", in *The Romany Rye*, Everyman Edition, 1906, pp. 390 ff. For Bowring's earlier literary relations with Borrow, see W. I. Knapp, *The Life of George Borrow* (2 vols, London, 1899) and other Borrow biographies.

I have been reading George Borrow's most mendacious libels in *Romany Rye*. I hunted down Lavengro—I cheated him of an appointment and secured it for myself—and then the way in which he has introduced my family (even your mother and sisters) is one of the most impertinent pieces of low rascality I have ever met with. He has carried into the literary field the spirit which other ancient allies have brought into the political. Was ever a man pelted from all sides as I have been? —I hope I shall survive it all.¹

The attack in *The Romany Rye* did little further harm to Bowring's already tarnished reputation—indeed, most of the press in England reviewed Borrow's book very critically. But the shock of reading "The Old Radical" may have been the last straw which brought Bowring to his bed with a serious attack of fever at the end of July. By then his fortunes seemed to have reached their lowest ebb, for, in addition to his political disappointments and the many assaults on his reputation, his wife was still seriously ill from the arsenic attack in January and his family at Government House were suffering from the constant nervous strain caused by the fierce hostility of the Chinese. Even Elgin's arrival brought him little but further humiliation, for the new Plenipotentiary treated him with contempt and refused to allow him to take any part in future plans for Canton. As he wrote to Edgar Bowring in August, after Elgin had left Hong-Kong on a brief visit to Calcutta,

My position is painful enough—all power taken from me—and nobody to do anything in China. I have not heard from Lord Clarendon for many months and am persuaded he is under Hammond's thumb and has little regard for me and (but for Lord Palmerston) would willingly have abandoned me. . . . I had rather have been recalled—or appointed to some other post than have been left here as I am. They have taken from me the Japanese mission without a shadow of reason—they have ordered me not to quit Hong-Kong tho' that may cost me my life—they have prohibited my correspondence with the High Mandarins in any of the ports—and *this*—and *this* when the Prime Minister declares I have deserved well of my country—and that country has endorsed my opinion and beyond all estimate strengthened his hands. It is very disgusting—and somewhat hard to bear and I often wish I were away from these scenes where I am only a surplusage and an incumbrance. . . . I have been throughout the victim whom every man turns upon—even that coarse *liar* George Borrow—for what have I got by the defence of the government and their avowed approval?—nothing but practical abandonment—heavy losses—cruel discouragement—associated with broken health—miserable anxiety—and hopeless dreamings.²

¹ Bowring to Edgar Bowring, 24 July 1857 (Rylands Eng. MS.1228).

² Bowring to Edgar Bowring, 1 August 1857 (Rylands Eng. MS. 1228).

It is difficult not to feel some sympathy with Bowring at the height of his misfortunes. Nevertheless it must be admitted that he had brought most of these misfortunes upon himself. As so often in past life, he had allowed his zeal and impetuosity to betray him into ill-considered actions which had involved him in serious trouble. He had been censored, publicly by his political opponents and privately even by most of those who supported the Government, for the unscrupulous use he had made of the *Arrow* incident and for the indiscretion of his attack on Canton. He had vigorously defended himself against these charges and had pointed to the result of the General Election as public justification for what he had done. But he had soon been forced to realize that it was Palmerston's popularity and not his own conduct which had brought about the Government's success. When Elgin replaced him as Plenipotentiary there was hardly a person in England or China who failed to welcome the decision.

For the rest of his life, Bowring and several of his sons—though by no means all of these, for his son Frederick thoroughly disapproved of Bowring's conduct¹—were to try to justify what had happened at Canton, putting the blame on the obstinacy and wrongheadedness of Yeh. But these efforts made little impression on public opinion. Later liberal writers who described the *Arrow* incident, such as John Morley, condemned Bowring in as strong terms as Cobden had done.² Even Parkes's biographer Lane-Poole, who looked at the incident from an Imperialist standpoint, found little good to say of Bowring himself, scorning him for the vacillations in his policy of firmness and for his unworthy attempts to shift the blame on to Parkes and Seymour. Several recent students of Far Eastern affairs at this period, such as W. C. Costin, have, indeed, reminded us that Bowring's "gunboat diplomacy" had already been adopted by several of his predecessors, such as Pottinger and Davis, and that the decision to use force in China, as the only way to secure treaty revision, had the approval not only of the British Government but of the governments of the other two treaty powers, which were prepared to take part in the projected naval expedition to Peking early in

¹ See Bowring to Frederick Bowring, 4 October 1857 (Rylands Eng. MS. 1229).

² See J. Morley, *Life of Richard Cobden* (1903 edn.), pp. 652-3.

1857. They have shown, moreover, that Bowring's attitude to the Chinese was usually far more enlightened than that of most of his contemporaries in the Far East and have provided evidence that his conduct as Chief Superintendent of Trade and as Governor of Hong-Kong, if sometimes ill-advised and indiscreet, was in general worthy of one who professed liberal opinions.¹ All this, indeed, is to his credit. But Bowring claimed to be guided by higher principles than expediency in his dealings with peoples of other lands. When Member for Bolton he had protested against the unscrupulous use of British power both in China and in India. By his own high standards, therefore, his conduct over the *Arrow* affair fell far short of what it ought to have been, just as his conduct in Greek Committee affairs had done many years earlier. In his private letters, as well as in his official dispatches, there is nothing to suggest that, peaceful methods having failed, he ever hesitated to use violent means if this would further the greater ends he had in view. Even his constant protests to Clarendon and Elgin that he did not want to see war in China, came only after events at Canton had gone wrong.

If the attack on Canton had succeeded, if Yeh had surrendered and Bowring had entered the city in triumph, there is no reason to doubt that he would have regarded this as a great achievement—greater than the Treaty at Bangkok—and he would have gone on to the Peiho and Japan even less likely to question the moral justification of the methods of "gunboat diplomacy" he had adopted, conscious only that the great purpose of opening up the Far East to European trade justified methods which his fellow members of the Peace Society condemned. Unfortunately for Bowring, Yeh proved a much more resolute opponent than he had bargained for, and the actions he authorized after the *Arrow* incident led not to the fall of the Imperial Commissioner but to the replacement of Bowring himself.

On the return of Lord Elgin to the Far East from Calcutta in September 1857, Bowring's duties as Plenipotentiary finally came to their end. But he remained in China for two more years as Governor of Hong-Kong and was a spectator of the many

¹ See the account of Bowring's colonial administration in G. B. Endacott, *A History of Hong-Kong* (London, 1958).

important events which took place during that period, including Elgin's final capture of Canton in December 1857 and the conclusion, six months later, of the Treaty of Tientsin, which obtained many of the commercial and diplomatic advances Bowring had advocated. In these events he was allowed to take no part, though he lost no opportunity of criticizing the many details of Elgin's policy of which he disapproved. His letters to Clarendon and to his son Edgar during this period, are full of jeremiads about the situation in China accompanied by constant bemoanings of his own "condemnation to uselessness" and frequent self-pitying references to his "heavy burden of domestic affliction and public adversity". "I scarcely knew", he wrote to Clarendon in December 1858, after a severe attack of fever, "whether I was not about to close my worldly accounts and follow my poor wife to the dark passages of death."¹

After his retirement on a pension and return to England in 1859, however, an astonishing change took place in Bowring's outlook on life, illustrated most graphically by his remarriage, in the following year, at the age of sixty-eight. Almost as if the *Arrow* affair and its aftermath had never happened, he resumed a lively interest in the many political and literary activities which had occupied his youth. He pursued such liberal measures as the enlargement of the suffrage, the reform of prison conditions and the extension of commercial treaties with as much energy as he had displayed before 1849 and he even attempted, though in vain, to regain a seat in Parliament. He travelled extensively on the continent and devoted considerable time to the development of commercial relations between various European governments and the remote kingdoms of the East, such as Siam and Hawaii. As late as the General Election of 1868, when his son Edgar successfully stood as liberal candidate for Exeter, he appeared on political platforms to uphold the radical causes for which he had campaigned during his life; and he continued, until his death in 1872, at the age of eighty, to take a keen interest in the events of the day.²

¹ Bowring to Clarendon, 9 December 1858 (MSS. Clar. Dep. C. 559).

² For Bowring's last years, see L. B. Bowring, *The Autobiographical Recollections of Sir John Bowring*, 1877.

THE PERSONIFICATION OF DEATH IN SOME ANCIENT RELIGIONS¹

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I

MAN has been variously defined as a fire-user, a tool-maker, and a political animal. Such definitions are, of course, designed to pick out and to underline some essential human activity which is thought to mark off man as distinct from all other beings. For the same reason man could also be characterized as a "burier of his dead"—although in this remarkable practice *homo sapiens* was, perhaps significantly, anticipated by his hominid precursor, the so-called Neanderthal Man, who carefully buried his dead, probably with some funerary equipment.²

The ritual burial of the dead, which thus occurs from the Upper Palaeolithic era, may intelligibly be interpreted either as originating from some instinctive inability on the part of man to accept the ocular evidence of physical disintegration as marking the end of the individual person, or as due to an equally instinctive hope for some of *post-mortem* survival. But, whatever its origin may be thought to have been, it is obvious that even the most primitive mortuary practice must presuppose some reflection about death, which would surely in turn have involved some speculation about the cause of death. Where death was due to an act of violence, as for example when the Palaeolithic hunter was killed by the bison that he hunted, there would have been little problem about his end—the man had obviously died because

¹ Originally given as a presidential address to the Manchester University Egyptian and Oriental Society, 24 October 1960. Other aspects of the subject will be dealt with at greater length in the author's forthcoming book entitled *Man and his Destiny in the Great Religions* (Manchester University Press).

² Cf. Th. Mainage, *Les Religions de la Préhistoire : L'Âge paléolithique* (Paris, 1921), pp. 165-6; G. Clark, *From Savagery to Civilisation* (London, 1946), pp. 41-3; E. O. James, *Prehistoric Religion* (London, 1957), pp. 21-3; J. Maringer, *Vorgeschichtliche Religion* (Einsiedeln, 1956), pp. 71-88.

his body had been torn or broken in some fatal way¹ But death by disease, which must surely have happened too in the Palaeolithic communities, would have been more difficult to explain. Why had the individual concerned suddenly drooped and then died? Here it would seem that the imagination would have been called upon to provide an answer. What kind of answer was provided by the Palaeolithic mind we have no means of knowing. We can only surmise that, from what they knew of the cause of death by violence, these Palaeolithic peoples were likely to have inferred that death by disease must be due to the attack of some agent whom they could not see, but of whose activity they had such doleful proof. It is tempting to go on to speculate what such a conclusion might have meant to the mind of Palaeolithic man: whether it would have led him to conceive of some awful mysterious being who would suddenly strike at the individual person and cause him or her to die?

From such speculation about Palaeolithic man's reactions it will be safer and more profitable to turn and interrogate the literatures of certain of the ancient peoples of the Near East in an attempt to understand how man first sought to explain the most definitive fact of his experience as he observed its event in the persons of his fellows.

We shall start with the evidence provided by ancient Egypt because, not only is ancient Egyptian culture one of the earliest of which we have information, but it is the best documented from our present point of view. Moreover, the chief reason for this rich documentation is the fact of the exceeding preoccupation of the Egyptians with the problem of death which led to their developing the most elaborate mortuary cultus known to the history of religions.

When we come to examine the immense corpus of Egyptian funerary literature, we find, however, that, despite their deep concern about death and the great efforts which they made to

¹ The famous Lascaux picture of a bison killing a bird-headed man constitutes an interesting instance of Palaeolithic preoccupation with the question of death by violence; cf. H. Breuil, *Quatre Cents Siècles d'Art pariétal* (Montignac, 1954), pp. 131, 134-5, 148, 150-1 (fig.); F. Windels, *The Lascaux Cave Paintings* (London, 1949), pp. 27, 63; A. Laming, *Lascaux* (Pelican Books, 1959), pp. 93-6.

prevent or circumvent its dread effects, the Egyptians never seem to have formulated either any clear conception of the nature of death or of its cause.¹ Generally it would appear that they refused to accept death as a natural and inevitable event that every living being must experience. In the earliest mortuary texts, namely, the *Pyramid Texts*, which date from about the second half of the third millennium B.C., the idea is expressed that there was once a time when there was no death ;² but nothing is said of how death subsequently came to enter into the world. The various terms used by the Egyptians for death also give no certain clue as to the intrinsic nature of the concept that they were designed to express. The usual word for "to die", *mwt*, had as its determinative sign the figure of a man falling on his knees, with blood streaming from his head.³ The substantive *mwt* ("death") also had this determinative. Two alternative expressions, namely, *mni* (meaning literally, and probably euphemistically, "to land") and *hpt* have as their determinative signs the figure of a recumbent mummy or embalmed body.⁴

It is possible, however, that the determinative sign of *mwt*, i.e. the figure of the falling man with blood streaming from his head, could afford some indication of the original nature of the concept, since the same sign serves as the determinative of the word for "enemy" (*hfty*).⁵ In other words, the use of this determinative may mean that to the Egyptian mind death was regarded essentially as an enemy, and the process of dying as the consequence of an hostile attack. There is indeed certain evidence that would seem to confirm this inference. Most notably there is the legend of Osiris, which formed the *rationale* of the mortuary cultus. According to this well-known legend, the divine

¹ Cf. C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Der Begriff des Todes bei den Aegyptern* (Copenhagen, 1942), pp. 8-9, 28-9.

² *Pyr.* 1466 d. (K. Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, ii. 303): n hprt mt (*mwt*). The verb hpr means "to become, to come into existence".

³ Cf. A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, 1927), p. 436 (A14), cf. p. 521 (Z6); Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache*, ii. 55, 166-7, see also under hpt, op. cit. iii. pp. 258-9. Cf. A. H. Gardiner in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (ed. J. Hastings), viii. 21.

⁴ Cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 440 (A.54, 55); Erman-Grapow, op. cit. ii. 73, iii. 258-9.

⁵ Cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 436 (A.14); Erman-Grapow, op. cit. iii. 276.

hero had been slain by the assault of an evil being called Set.¹ Now, since the Osirian mortuary ritual was based upon the ritual identification of the deceased person with Osiris in the belief that, by such means, that person would share in the divine hero's resurrection to a new life, Osiris became in a very real sense in Egyptian thought the prototype of "Everyman".² Accordingly, the Osirian legend provided, as it were, the pattern of every man's destiny, and that fact in turn meant that it would surely have supplied the imagery in terms of which the process of death was conceived—in other words, as Osiris died by being struck down by an evil enemy, so death came to each individual person.

Egyptian literature does indeed contain many instances of death being envisaged thus as the attack of some demonic being. But we encounter a curious problem when we naturally go on to inquire how the Egyptians conceived of such a demonic being or beings. It would be reasonable to suppose that the evil Set, the slayer of Osiris, would have become the Egyptian death-god, for he seems so obviously cast for the part. But, although he does indeed tend to assume the rôle of the Devil in Egyptian theology, Set is never actually represented as the god of death. This fact may be due to a curious reticence that manifests itself in Egyptian iconography about the depiction of the act of dying. Thus, although Osiris is frequently represented as lying dead and being mourned over by the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, he is never shown as being struck down by Set—possibly the current belief in the magical efficacy of pictures and statues prevented the actual representation of such a baleful event. In turn, such a taboo was probably responsible for the fact that in the illustrated versions of the *Book of the Dead*, although so many scenes of incidents in the *post-mortem* career of the deceased are realistically shown, the actual death of the person concerned is never depicted.³

If the Egyptians, however, were disposed to imagine death as due to the attack of some evil demon, it would surely seem

¹ For the earliest references to the legend see *Pyramid Texts*, 972, 1256, 1500. Cf. H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), p. 568b.

² Cf. S. G. F. Brandon, "Osiris: Royal Mortuary God of Egypt", in *History Today*, x (1960), 589-97.

³ E.g. see the vignettes in the *Papyrus of Ani* in the British Museum.

necessary that they should have had some concrete image in their mind of this awful being—in other words, that they should in some measure have personified their conception of death. That an effective measure of personification did take place the following selection of passages vividly testifies. From the *Coffin Texts* of the Middle Kingdom (c. 2160-1580 B.C.): "Save me from the claws of him who takes for himself what he sees: may the glowing breath of his mouth not take me away."¹ Then, a New Kingdom (c. 1580-1090 B.C.) document known as the *Wisdom of Anii*: "Death cometh and leadeth away the babe that is still in the bosom of its mother, even as the man when when he hath become old."² Lastly, a text from the Graeco-Roman period: "Death, his name is 'Come'; every one to whom he calleth comes to him straightway, their hearts being affrighted through fear of him. There is none can see him, either of gods or of men; the great and the small alike rest in him, nor can he stay his finger. He loveth all, and robbeth the son from his mother. The old man moves to meet him, and all fear and make petition before him. Yet he turns not his face towards them, he comes not to him who implores him, he hearkens not when he is worshipped; he shows himself not, even though any manner of bribe be given to him."³

It would seem evident, then, that the Egyptians, when they thought of death, had in their mind's eye a personified being of horrific form. But what exactly was that form we have no certain information, since, as we have seen, the actual death-event seems never to have been depicted in Egyptian art. In the funerary papyri we certainly have a great abundance of demonic figures

¹ CT VII, Spell 1106; BIL. 527; Cairo 28085, Lacau I. 215. 13; cf. J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy according to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (Leiden, 1960), pp. 23, 185 (B. 9b).

² A. Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1927), p. 237.

³ Translated by A. H. Gardiner in *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, viii, 22a. Cf. *Guide to Egyptian Collections in the British Museum* (1909), pp. 274-5; Bonnet, op. cit. 353b-354a; Zandee, op. cit. p. 47. Sander-Hansen (op. cit. p. 27) has certain justification when he writes: "Weder König noch Gott können an sich als Personifikation des Todes gelten, und es dürfte wohl behaupten werden, dass sich die Aegypter den Tod überhaupt nicht in irgend einer Gestalt vorgestellt haben. Es ist jedoch so, dass man die Einzelercheinungen des Todes personifiziert hat . . ."; but he seems to neglect to reckon with both the need of the ordinary mind to think in terms of concrete images and the influence of the tradition of Set as the "enemy".

represented, but these demons are denizens of the underworld and occupied in tormenting the unrighteous there. If, however, the Egyptians did tend to think of death in terms of Set, the slayer of Osiris, as we have suggested, then it is likely that the image under which they would have personified death, at least mentally, would have been that of the strange Set-animal well known in Egyptian iconography—a creature with sharp pointed ears or horns, a long muzzle or snout, and a tail splayed at its end.¹

At this point we will leave for the moment further consideration of the ancient Egyptian conception of death; we shall have need to return to it again when we come to consider the evidence of Coptic literature in connection with the personification of death in Early Christianity.

II

Turning from the Egyptian conception, it is instructive to consider briefly the idea of death which was current in the sister civilization of Mesopotamia. For here we meet with a completely different interpretation of human life and destiny, yet one which apparently induced a tendency to personify death such as we have found in Egypt.

According to what we might fairly call Mesopotamian theological thought, the gods had created mankind in order that they might have servants to build temples for them and provide them with sacrifices.² But such service was the only *raison d'être* of these human creatures whom the gods had made, so that, when these creatures ceased to be capable of performing it, there was no other purpose for their continued existence.³ This view of the

¹ Cf. Bonnet, *op. cit.* pp. 707, 711b-715; J. Vandier, *La Religion égyptienne* (Paris, 1949), pp. 199-200; S. A. B. Mercer, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1949), pp. 52-61. E. A. W. Budge (*From Fetish to God in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 1934), pp. 86-9) would identify the Set-animal with the "Salûki", which "literally tears his prey in pieces"—a significant description in the present context. On the association of the dog with death and the underworld in ancient mythologies see A. Hermann in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, I, sub ("Cerberus").

² Cf. S. N. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology* (Philadelphia, 1944), p. 70, *From the Tablets of Sumer* (Colorado, 1956), pp. 101-2; A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis* (University of Chicago Press, 1951), pp. 68-71, 46.

³ Cf. M. David, *Les Dieux et le Destin en Babylonie* (Paris, 1949), pp. 13, 26, 39-40.

human situation receives its classic expression in Mesopotamian literature in the speech of Siduri in the celebrated *Epic of Gilgamesh*. Gilgamesh, the hero of the *Epic*, shocked by the revelation of human mortality that comes to him through the death of his friend Enkidu, seeks to escape his fate by visiting Utanapishtim, the Babylonian Noah, in his remote abode, in order to learn the secret of his fabled deathlessness. In the course of his long and arduous journey thither, Gilgamesh is represented as meeting the mysterious Siduri, who is made the mouthpiece of the *carpe diem* philosophy of life that the traditional Mesopotamian eschatology alone sanctioned. Siduri tells Gilgamesh that his quest for immortality is hopeless, for, as she significantly explains :

The life which thou seekest thou wilt not find ;
(for) when the gods created mankind,
They allotted death to mankind,
(But) life they retained in their keeping.¹

However, although death is accordingly represented as natural to man, it being an attribute of the nature with which his divine creators endowed him, we find, even in the very poem in which this belief is thus stated, that the process of dying was instinctively envisaged as the seizure of the doomed individual by a demon, a kind of death-god. Thus Enkidu, the unfortunate friend of Gilgamesh, has a presentiment of his coming death and dreams that he is seized by some awful being :

. . . he transformed me,
That mine arms were covered with feathers like a bird.
He looks at me (and) leads me to the house of darkness, to the dwelling
of Irkalla ;
To the house from which he who enters never goes forth ;
On the road whose path does not lead back ;
To the house whose inhabitants are bereft of light ;
Where dust is their food and clay their sustenance ;
(Where) they are clad like birds.²

¹ Tab. X, col. iii, 1-14 ; translated by A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels* (Chicago University Press, 1949), p. 70 ; cf. E. A. Speiser in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (ed. J. B. Pritchard, Princeton, 1955), p. 90a. Cf. R. C. Thompson in *Cambridge Ancient History*, iii. 230-1 ; T. Jacobson in *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, ed. H. & H. A. Frankfort, (Chicago, 1946), pp. 210-1.

² Tab. VII, col. iv, 31-41 ; translated by Heidel, op. cit. p. 36 ; cf. Speiser in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, p. 87a.

In the Babylonian Creation Epic the death-god is actually named Uggae, when the rebel Kingu is accounted to him at his execution for his association with Tiamat in her primordial struggle against the gods.¹ An Assyrian text of about the middle of the seventh century B.C. is even more explicit in the course of its account of the underworld, for it describes "Death (il mu-ú [tu?]), with a *mušhuššu*-head, his two hands (were the hands of) men, his two feet (of) serpents".²

It must, accordingly, be deemed significant that in two cultures, so very different in their eschatologies as those of Egypt and Mesopotamia, death was personified as a horrific demon that seized its victims and so brought their earthly careers to a dread end.

III

When we turn to consider Hebrew religion in this connection, we are confronted with a richness and a diversity of imagery that forbids any attempt at precise definition. The long struggle of Yahwism against ancient and deeply-rooted mortuary cults has necessarily left its mark in the extant literature in the form of conflicting views of the nature and destiny of man, which in turn involves a certain contradiction in the conception of death. The clearest and most impressive exposition of the origin of death is, of course, that contained in the well-known Yahwist story of the Temptation and Fall of Adam.³ Here, in a superb narrative, we have death presented as the penalty imposed by God on mankind in consequence of the sin of its first parents. By implication, therefore, the progenitors of the human race were created to be immortal; but it is uncertain whether we can rightly infer

¹ IV, 120. Uggae plays no important part in Mesopotamian religious literature and had no place in the main hierarchy of gods. "In einem Briefe an Assurbanipal berichtet der Schreiber, dass er 'ein Bild der Anutochter (Labartu), ein Bild des Namtaru, ein Bild des Latarak und ein Bild des Todes' habe anfertigen lassen." (B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* (Heidelberg, 1925), ii. 203, see also p. 179.)

² Cf. E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen des Babylonier* (Berlin u. Leipzig, 1931), i. 5(3). Cf. Heidel, *op. cit.* p. 133.

³ Gen. ii. 4—iii. 19. Cf. K. Budde, *Die biblische Paradiesesgeschichte* (Giessen, 1932), p. 11; W. O. E. Oesterley, *Immortality and the Unseen World* (London, 1930), pp. 193-9.

from this that the Yahwist writer intended to suggest that the descendants of Adam would also have been immortal but for the Fall,¹ since, according to the logic of the narrative, the procreation of offspring was one of the consequences of the Fall.² However that may be, the Yahwist story clearly represents death as originating from man's primordial disobedience to his Maker. This account of the origin of death, however, only applies to mankind; nothing is said by way of explanation of the obvious fact that animals also die. No doubt Yahwist aetiology in this passage is designed to meet a specific situation—possibly the belief in some form of *post-mortem* survival implied in the indigenous mortuary cultus.

The traditional Hebrew anthropology, which regarded the individual person as a psycho-physical organism, a compound of body and *nephesh*, necessarily envisaged death as the fatal shattering of this organism, so that what survived was in no sense the real person but some shadowy, and possibly horrific, entity that departed to a grim existence in Sheol.³ How death, being thus the fatal shattering of the psycho-physical organism that constituted the person, was achieved is not clear. Generally God is regarded as ultimately responsible for the individual's death, since Hebrew monotheism could not allow of the existence of an evil principle or a death-god that operated among men, contrary to the will of God. Consequently, although a few passages can be cited where death itself seems to be hypostatized,⁴ the dominant view is that death is due to the action of God. However, the tendency to separate Yahweh from direct contact with human affairs seems to have produced the idea of "the angel of Yahweh" as the agent of death,⁵ although the mysterious *mašhith* of Exodus xii. 13 and 23, the "destroyer" who slew the first born of Egypt, may have been originally some baleful monster of ancient Semitic

¹ The notion clearly inheres in Yahweh's warning about the consequences of eating of the forbidden tree in Gen. ii. 17, and it is re-echoed in the woman's reply to the serpent's question in Gen. iii. 4.

² Gen. iii. 14-16.

³ Cf. A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the thought of Ancient Israel* (University of Wales Press, 1949), pp. 88-90.

⁴ E.g. Hos. xiii. 14; Isa. xxv. 8a.

⁵ E.g. 2 Sam. xxiv. 15-16. Cf. Oesterley, *op. cit.* pp. 54-8.

folklore.¹ In later Jewish thought the angel of death is given the name "Sammael", i.e. "the drug of God", with reference to the gall on the tip of the sword with which he is armed, and his presence in a town is betokened by the howling of dogs.²

In view of the strong monotheistic character of Hebrew religion, it is surely significant, therefore, that, despite belief that death was decreed by God, the imagination strove to see death as an event in which there was a personified agent. One can only wonder, in the absence of a Jewish religious iconography, in what form the angel of death was conceived, for the mention of the sword indicates the conception of a concrete figure.

IV

Before passing on in our survey to the evidence of ancient Greece and Early Christianity, it will be useful to glance briefly at the imagery of death in ancient Iran, for there was the classic home of religious dualism. From what can be gathered of Zarathustra's teaching, as it has been preserved in the *Gathas*, the prophet seems to have taught nothing significant about either the origin or nature of death. Death appears essentially as the inevitable prelude to the supreme test of passing over the fearsome *Cinvato paratu*, i.e. "the Bridge of the Separator", which will achieve the fateful division between the good and the bad.³ But Zarathustra was the reformer of a more ancient faith, which had its roots far back in the Aryan past of the Iranians. Professor G. Widengren of Uppsala has made out a strong case for thinking that the characteristic dualism of Iranian religion also lay back beyond Zarathustra and originates in the concept of a high-god,

¹ Cf. A. Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament in Lichte des alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1930), p. 411. If the identification of Mot as the Canaanite god of death could be definitely established, the fact would be of considerable significance in this connection: cf. C. Virolleaud, *Légendes de Babylone et de Canaan* (Paris, 1949), p. 87; G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh, 1956), p. 161a; R. de Langhe in *Myth, Ritual and Kingship* (ed. S. H. Hooke, Oxford, 1958); R. Dussaud, *Les Religions des Hittites, et des Hourrites, des Phéniciens et des Syriens* (Paris, 1945), p. 371.

² Cf. M. Joseph in *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, viii. 41b.

³ Yasna xlv. 10-11, li. 12-13. Cf. J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism* (London, 1913), pp. 374, 386; L. H. Mills, *Sacred Books of the East*, xxxi. 183. Cf. N. Söderblom, *La Vie future d'après la Mazdéisme* (Paris, 1901), p. 90.

who embodied within himself a duality of attributes—life and death, light and darkness, creativity and destruction.¹ Such a conception of deity would not be strange to the Aryan mind, since it finds expression in Hinduism and is not entirely absent from the Homeric portrait of Zeus. However that may be as to origins, it is important to notice that in later Persian religion the concept of Zurvān, which may perhaps have derived from the ancient high-god of Iran, contained some remarkably profound and realistic thinking about the nature of death.² For in Zurvān it appears that the Persians deified Time; but in so doing they recognized a twofold aspect of Time which finds expression in two forms of the god Zurvān, namely, *Zurvān akarana*, which meant “infinite Time” and *Zurvān darēgho-chvadhāta*, which was “Time of Long Dominion”, i.e. “finite Time”.³ Now, it was Time under this second aspect that was regarded as the source of decay and death in this present world. Its character and activity are vividly presented in the following passages from relevant Pahlavī texts translated by Professor R. C. Zaehner, who has concentrated upon the problem of Zurvān.⁴ First, a clear acknowledgement of the essential connection between death and the time-process: “For Zurvān there is no remedy. From death there is no escape.” Then, of the destructive nature of Time: “As to him whose eye Time has sewn up, his back is seized upon and will never rise again; pain comes upon his heart so that it beats no more; his hand is broken so that it grows no more, and his foot is broken so that it walks no more. The stars came upon him, and he goes not out another time: fate came upon him and he cannot drive it forth.” So graphic a picture of the operation of Zurvān naturally prompts the enquiry whether Time could have been so conceived without the forming of some personalized image of it. The problem involved here is too

¹ *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran* (Lund, 1938), pp. 94-145.

² Cf. R. C. Zaehner *Zurvān: a Zoroastrian Dilemma* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 20, 88-90, 203-4, 208, 231-2, 239-242, 275, 382; Widengren, op. cit. pp. 266-310; J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, (Paris, 1953), pp. 118-22.

³ Cf. Zaehner, op. cit. p. 57, in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, xvii/2 (1955), 243; H. Sasse in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, i. 193; H. Corbin, “Cyclical Time in Mazdaism and Ismailism”, in *Man and Time (Papers From the Eranos Yearbooks)* (London, 1958), pp. 117, 123-4.

⁴ *Zurvān*, pp. 240-1, see also pp. 397-9.

complicated for present discussion ; but it may be noticed that a reasonable case has been made out for thinking that the statues of a lion-headed monster adorned with various symbols of Time and usually identified with Aïōn, which have been found in many Mithraic sanctuaries, may represent Zurvān *darēgho-chvadhāta* i.e. "Time of Long Dominion", in other words, the god of death.¹

V

The rich treasury of the Greek imagination provided a variety of figures under which death was conceived. But, since their innate propensity to face facts seems to have led them to accept mortality as an essential attribute of human nature, the Greeks were never really concerned to explain the origin of death, nor did their theology find death a problem relative to man's position *vis-à-vis* the gods. Where, as in their mystery-cults, the individual was encouraged to believe that he could obtain a blessed lot after death, the very logic of the doctrine implied that such a destiny was not normal for men. The reply which Homer puts into the mouth of the dead Anticleia, when her son, Odysseus, tries vainly to embrace her insubstantial form when they meet in Hades, succinctly expresses the accepted eschatology : "... this is the appointed way with mortals when one dies. For the sinews no longer hold the flesh and the bones together, but the strong might of the blazing fire destroys these, as soon as the life (*θυμός*) leaves the white bones, and the spirit (*ψυχή*), like a dream, flits away, and hovers to and fro."²

Nurtured on such realism, it is not surprising that the Greeks developed no mythology of death. Homer may have preserved some memory of a primitive personification of death in his use of the expression *κῆρ θανάτοιο* (the *kēr* of death), and the well known figure of the winged harpy certainly indicates an early tendency to imagine death as a monster that snatches away his

¹ Cf. J. Duchesne-Guillemin, "Ahriman et le Dieu suprême dans les Mystères de Mithra", in *Numen*, ii (1955), 190-5, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, pp. 127-8 ; "Aïōn et le Léontocephale, Mithras et Ahriman", in *La Nouvelle Clio*, t.x (1958-60), no. 3 ; Zaehner, *Zurvān*, pp. viii-ix, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, xvii/2, 237-43.

² *Odyssey* XI. 204-22, trans. A. T. Murray, Loeb. edn. of *Odyssey*, i. 401-3.

victims.¹ But neither of these images succeeded in establishing itself as a traditional concept. Neither did the more sophisticated picture of Thanatos ("Death") as a winged youth, armed with a sword and of gentle mien, such as he is depicted in the illustration of the Alcestis legend that adorned one of the columns of the temple of Artemis of Ephesus.² This failure of Greek artistic genius to create an image of death that could be accepted as expressive of the general attitude to this most disturbing of human experiences is certainly remarkable, when we consider its success in providing acceptable representations of so many other conceptions that stemmed from experience and the inspirations of hope and fear. We can only hazard the suggestion that the cause of this deficiency might reside in the fact that the Greeks envisaged death essentially as a natural process or event, and such a conception precluded any convincing personalized representation of it.

It is instructive to note briefly, for the sake of comparison, the horrific Etruscan personification of death in the figure of Charun. This monster differs from both the Greek Charon and the Euripidean Thanatos in being represented with a most hideous countenance and armed with a hammer, with which he gives the

¹ Cf. J. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 174-8; see also H. J. Rose, *Handbook of Greek Mythology* (London, 1928), pp. 28, 245; E. Rohde, *Psyche* (Freiburg, 1898), i. 10, n. 1., 71-3; *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 475 ("Keres"); the Etruscan Plaque de Cervetri, Musée du Louvre, ill. in *Histoire générale des Religions*, ed. M. Gorce et R. Mortier (Paris, 1948), ii, plate facing p. 296.

² Now in the British Museum; cf. Lübke-Pernice, *Die Kunst der Griechen* (ed. B. Sarne, Wien, 1948), Abb. 330. Cf. Rohde, op. cit. ii. 249, n. 1; Rose, op. cit. p. 141; *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, pp. 29f. ("Alcestis"), 890 ("Thanatos"); Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.*, 2, Reihe, ix. 1245-1257, 1267 (35). It would be interesting to know how Thanatos was actually portrayed in performances of Euripides' *Alcestis* in the Greek theatre. According to references in the play itself, Thanatos is visibly seen (ἤδη δὲ τόνδε θάνατον εἰσπορῶ πέλας, | ἔερῃ θανόντων, . . . ll. 24-25), he is black-robed (843), winged (261), and armed with a sword (74). Herakles also reports how in a realistic manner he forced Thanatos to surrender Alkestis: τύμβον παρ' αὐτὸν ἐκ λόχου μάριψας χεροῖν (1142). Although thus clearly personified and depicted as a grim being, Euripides' portrait of Thanatos here differs notably from the Etruscan Charun (see below). The binding of death, which implies an effective degree of personification, also occurs in the Sisyphos legend; cf. H. J. Rose, *Handbook of Greek Mythology* (London, 1928), p. 294.

death-blow. He is often depicted accompanied by an equally repulsive monster, Tuchulcha, who may incorporate some memory of the harpy.¹

VI

Our survey now enables us to evaluate the mythology of death in Early Christianity, although constriction of space here necessitates that we notice only the more significant aspects.

Since Christianity in its primitive form derived from Judaism, it was natural that Jewish conceptions of death should find expression in the earliest Christian documents. Of these documents the writings of Paul are especially notable for the range and variety of the imagery that could be employed. The conceptions generally lack precision in formulation, and they are often used with that ambiguity of meaning that characterizes so much of Paul's seminal thinking. Thus sin is generally represented to be the cause of death, and explicit reference is made to the Fall of Adam as the occasion of the entry of death into the world;² however, it is often uncertain whether Paul has in mind physical death or some form of spiritual death. In several places Paul appears to hypostatize death (*Thanatos*). Thus he declares that "Thanatos reigned from Adam to Moses".³ He apostrophizes death, undoubtedly with the words of Hosea in mind: "O Thanatos, where is thy sting (*κέντρον*)? O Hades, where is thy victory?"⁴ and he proclaims that "the last enemy (*ἔσχατος ἐχθρὸς*) that shall be destroyed is Thanatos".⁵ This last reference is particularly interesting, because it would seem that Paul must have been drawing here upon some idea of current Messianic eschatology.

¹ Cf. G. Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (Everyman edn. 1907), ii, frontispiece and pp. 183-6; G. Bendinelli, *Compendio di Storia dell'Arte etrusca e romana* (Milano, 1931), figs. 146, 150, 151; A. Grenier, *Les Religions étrusque et romaine* (Paris, 1948), pp. 59-68; A. Hermann in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, I, sub "Charon".

² Rom. v. 12-13.

³ Rom. v. 14: "Nirgends wird der Versuch gemacht, den Tod als Naturvorgang zu interpretieren und ihn dadurch zu neutralisieren . . .", *Theol. Wörterbuch z. N.T.*, iii. 14—this applies not only to Paul, but generally throughout the New Testament.

⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 55; cf. Hosea xiii. 14.

⁵ 1 Cor. xv. 26.

It presupposes the existence of an hierarchy of daemonic beings, evidently hostile to God, that the Messiah would ultimately subjugate. Of this hierarchy, and presumably its strongest member, is Thanatos, whose fate is destruction.¹ We may well ask whether Paul really did thus think of death as a personified being, apparently self-existent and opposed to God. Such a being would indeed be tantamount to the Devil, and his existence would surely imply what would virtually have been a dualistic *Weltanschauung*. Doubtlessly it would be unwise to follow out the logic of such implications; nevertheless, we should bear in mind Paul's many references to the *archontes*, the *stoicheia*, and to the *plērōma*, all of which indicate his easy familiarity with the esoteric concepts of a Gnostic hierarchy of supernatural powers.

In the *Apocalypse of John* the same idea, namely, that in the *Endzeit* death will be destroyed, finds expression. In one of the two places where the idea occurs, death is clearly hypostatized, together with Hades, and the two are described as being cast into a lake of fire.² In another passage Thanatos is personified, being depicted as riding one of the four baleful horses that John sees in his vision of the tribulation of mankind.³ We also meet in this work an interesting reminiscence of Egyptian thought, when we read that, in the extremity of their distress, men will seek Thanatos, but he will flee from them.⁴

It would appear that the essentially Jewish idea, which we meet here in Paul and the *Apocalypse*, that death, conceived as an hypostatized being, would be destroyed by divine action in the *Endzeit*, caught the imagination of Hellenistic Christians and led, curiously, to a development of Christian eschatology that actually contradicted Paul's view, as expressed in 1 Corinthians xv. 26, that the destruction of Thanatos would be the penultimate act of the *Endzeit*. Thus, by the time of the composition of 2

¹ The earliest occurrence of the idea is in Isa. xxv. 8a: בָּלַע הַמָּוֶת לָמוּת ; there is some uncertainty about the date of this part of *Isaiah*. See the passage from *Pesikta Rabbathi*, 16 lb, cited by M. Joseph in *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, viii. 41b. It must be acknowledged that Jewish evidence for the currency of the idea during the period under consideration is nil; there is, of course, abundant evidence concerning the resurrection of the dead.

² Apoc. xx. 14, xxi. 4. Cf. R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John* (Edinburgh, 1920), ii. 199-200.

³ Apoc. vi. 8. ⁴ Apoc. ix. 6. Cf. Charles, op. cit. 243-4, and above p. 321.

Timothy, it was apparently believed that Christ had already destroyed Thanatos, i.e. before his *Parousia* and the events that were to mark the *Endzeit*.¹ According to the second century *Epistle of Barnabas* and Justin Martyr,² Christ had achieved this destruction of Thanatos by his own dying and resurrection. This idea quickly becomes elaborated in the myth of Christ's triumphant descent into Hades, where he is vividly pictured as assaulting and overthrowing a thoroughly personified Thanatos.³ In this so-called *Descensuskampf*-myth another significant development may also be noted, namely, that often Thanatos becomes identified with Satan, which causes him to be invested with all those strongly personalized attributes which it had become customary to ascribe to the personification of the principle of evil.⁴ What influences or considerations induced this personification of death in Greek Christianity, seeing that in the pagan tradition the personification of Thanatos had been so singularly weak, are not apparent. Undoubtedly there was the tendency of the pious imagination thus to enhance the drama of salvation; but there is another interesting possibility that should be noted. There exists a certain amount of evidence that the early Christian apologists felt the need of presenting Christ as one greater than Hercules, because in the early Empire there was a revival of the cult of this ancient hero in a philosophized form. Hence, to the pagans' boast that Hercules had once contended with Thanatos and compelled him to relinquish his prey, it would have been helpful to the Christian cause to claim that Christ had done far more, in that through his own death and resurrection he had actually destroyed the dread enemy of men.⁵

¹ 2 Tim. i. 10: (Jesus) *καταργήσαντος μὲν τὸν Θάνατον* . . .

² Barn. v. 6; Justin, *Apol.* i. 64.

³ Cf. Eusebius, *Dem. Evang.* 4, 12, 3f, in J. Kroll, *Gott und Hölle* (Leipzig u. Berlin, 1932), p. 9. Cf. M. Werner, *Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas* (Bern, 1941), pp. 247-50, *The Formation of Christian Dogma* (Eng. trans., London, 1957), pp. 98-102.

⁴ *Acts of Pilate*, vii (xiii) in M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1926), p. 137; Pseudo-Melito, vii, in James, *op. cit.* pp. 212-13. Even if Charles (*op. cit.* i. 169-71) is right in concluding that Apoc. vi. 8b is an interpolation, the manuscript evidence shows it to have been an early one, and it has accordingly its significance for the association of Thanatos with Hades.

⁵ Cf. M. Simon, *Hercule et le Christianisme* (Paris, 1955), pp. 112-15.

However that may be, it is significant that it is in Egypt that we find the most thorough-going personification of death produced by Early Christianity. It occurs in a Coptic document known as the *History of Joseph the Carpenter*, the extant Coptic text of which appears to be a translation of a Greek original dating from about the end of the fourth century.¹ Like many pseudepigraphical works of this kind, it takes the form of a narrative in which Jesus is the principal speaker. Thus he is represented here as telling his disciples about the death of his foster-father, Joseph; it was an early tradition that Joseph had predeceased Jesus. The part of the story that specially concerns us tells how, just before the end, Jesus sees Death (in Coptic, MOY) enter the house, together with Amente (the personification of the ancient Osirian underworld), the Devil and other demons, who are come to torment the dying Joseph.² At the rebuke of Jesus these monsters are terrified and flee, and Death in particular is actually depicted as hiding himself behind the door.³ When Joseph's last moment comes, Death fears to enter the house again to fulfil his office of separating the dying man's soul from his body, and Jesus is obliged to go out and call him to do his necessary part, though warning him to act gently.⁴

Death could scarcely be more thoroughly personified than it is here, or represented in a more humiliating position. One is naturally curious as to what influences may have operated to have produced so remarkable a portrait. Professor S. Morenz, who has edited the text, has shown convincingly that the scene draws on both Jewish and Egyptian ideas.⁵ In view of the inclusion of

¹ Cf. S. Morenz, *Die Geschichte vom Joseph dem Zimmermann* (Texte u. Untersuchungen, 56, Berlin, 1951), pp. 23-34, 96, 101, 112.

² ἀπαρ ἐποῦ, ἀρεὶ ἐρεάμῃτε οὐκ ἔτε παὶ πετο ἡστιαρχός (Sahidic text XIV. 1). Morenz translates ἡστιαρχός as 'Ratgeber' (op. cit. p. 16); for his comments on the Bohairic version here see p. 64.

³ ἀγῶ ὅτε ἡσὶ ἡμῶν ἀφῃωτ ἀφῃωτῇ ὅι παροῦ ἄνθρω (Sahidic text, XXI, 8).

⁴ Sahidic text XXIII, 6-8. In XXIII. 9 Death (μοῦ) is named ἀθάτον cf. Apoc. ix. 11, also Morenz op. cit. p. 71. μοῦ derives from the ancient Egyptian *mw*t (death); cf. W. Spiegelberg, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1921), p. 57.

⁵ E.g. the Jewish parallels cited by Morenz, op. cit. pp. 65-6, 71, 80, to Death's hesitation to perform his office. Cf. M. Joseph in *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, viii. 41b.

Amente in the company of the demons who visit the dying Joseph, it would seem reasonable to suppose that the Egyptian Christian responsible for the extant form of the work would have been more likely to have envisaged death, which he designates by the Coptic word MOY, in terms of his native tradition than in terms of Jewish thought, which in any case had no iconography. If this be a reasonable assumption, then we are faced with an interesting question. In describing death thus almost anthropomorphically, the Coptic author must have had some concrete image in his mind's eye—what form would it have taken? Two suggestions might be offered by way of an answer. It is possible that the author, familiar from childhood with the ideas and iconography of his people's ancient faith, would have conceived of Death in the form of Set, the ancient enemy beyond compare of Egyptian tradition. This possibility would, moreover, be greatly strengthened, if Morenz is right in his thesis that the purpose of the writing concerned here was to replace Osiris by Joseph as the pattern of holy dying at the time of the official suppression of paganism in Egypt;¹ for Set was the notorious slayer of Osiris and by a natural association of ideas he could easily have become the demon who came to torment and to slay the dying Joseph. The other possibility is that the Coptic author envisaged Death in the form of the jackal-headed god Anubis. Anubis was a very ancient Egyptian mortuary-god who had been absorbed into the complex of the Osirian myth and ritual. As such he was regarded as a benevolent deity who cared for the dead, as he had originally cared for the dead Osiris. However, by the Graeco-Roman period Anubis seems to have become essentially the *psychopompos*.² He frequently appears on mummy-wrappings in a significant scene in which three figures are represented. The figure on the left is in the Osirian mummiform, and evidently represents the deceased person as identified with Osiris. The central figure shows the deceased in his ordinary attire; to his

¹ Op. cit. p. 34: "Joseph aber befindet sich in einer merkwürdigen Doppelrolle; Er ist sterbender Mensch, aber zugleich, wie Osiris, im göttlichen Schutz und damit wenn auch nicht Gott, so doch Heiliger durch besonderen Verwandtschaftsgrad."; cf. op. cit. pp. 29-34.

² Cf. Bonnet, op. cit., sub "Anubis"; H. Herter in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, I, sub "Anubis".

left Anubis is depicted, with his arm around the shoulder of the dead man directing him towards the Osirian figure. The group has been convincingly interpreted as signifying the ritual transformation of the dead man into Osiris, with Anubis acting as the *psychopompos*.¹ Seen in such a context, Anubis seems to assume a more sinister guise than that which he had in the earlier tradition. He is now intimately associated with the event of death, and is virtually the one who leads men from life into death. His appearance in such scenes is also horrific, since he is coloured a dark blue or black, thus accentuating the fearsome aspect of his jackal's or dog's head. It is, accordingly, understandable that a Coptic Christian, familiar with such representations, might also have pictured Death in the awful shape of Anubis.

Here we may leave our enquiry. As a comparative study, it would seem to lead to one conclusion. That, whatever the nature of the eschatology concerned, among these ancient cultures a common tendency manifested itself to envisage death as the assault or the snatching away from life affected by some supernatural being. But the attempt to relate such a being to the theology of each culture concerned was never successful; in fact, with the possible exception of Iran, it was never seriously attempted and so constitutes the weakest point in the logic of each of the systems involved.²

¹ See S. Morenz, "Das Werden zu Osiris", in *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Forschungen und Berichte*, I Band (1957), 52-70.

² Attention may also be drawn to the Coptic document entitled the "Discourse on Abbatôn by Timothy, Archbishop of Alexandria" (in *Coptic Martyrdoms*, ed. E. A. Wallis Budge, British Museum, 1914), in which the origin of the angel of death is explained in terms of the *Genesis* creation story. The angel at first has the curious name of $\mu\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota\eta\lambda$, which probably represents an attempt to present the Coptic word *MOY* ("death") with the customary ending of the names of angelic beings in Hebrew. On acquiring his grisly office, $\mu\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota\eta\lambda$ has his name changed by God to the Hebrew name of $\alpha\eta\epsilon\alpha\tau\omega\pi$: cf. op. cit. fol. 22a, p. 241. This legend appears in Muslim tradition, accounting for 'Azra'il as the Angel of Death; cf. H. Schwarzbaum, "The Overcrowded Earth", in *Numen*, iv. 64-6. It is appropriate also to recall G. E. Lessing's essay entitled "Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet" (first published in 1796), and particularly his conclusion therein concerning Greek and Roman tradition on this subject: "Weil sich die Alten an einem Gerippe des Todes erinnerten, war darum ein Gerippe das angenommene Bild des Todes? Der Spruch, den Trimalcio dabey sagte, unterscheidet vielmehr das Gerippe und den Tod ausdrücklich:

Sic erimus cuncti, postquam nos auferet Orcus.

(*Samtliche Schriften*, hrsg. K. Lachmann, Stuttgart, 1895, Band XI, S. 47).

THE BOOK OF ZECHARIAH AND THE PASSION NARRATIVE¹

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I

IT is widely recognized that the narrative of the last few days of the life of Jesus was the earliest part of the Gospel story to take shape as a connected whole. There were many reasons why this should be so. For one thing, the events of those days must have been indelibly impressed on the memory of those men and women who spent them in Jesus' company. When they came together for fellowship and worship they would recall the days that led up to the crucifixion, and the days that followed it ; and others who had not been present at the time would be eager to hear the details. This was especially true of those occasions when Christians took the bread and wine of thanksgiving as their Master's memorial : " as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup ", said Paul, " you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes " (1 Cor. xi. 26)—words which appear to mean not simply that participation in the Lord's Supper was in itself an acted proclamation of His death, but that every such participation was regularly accompanied by a repetition of the passion narrative. In this way even recent converts to the new faith must soon have become tolerably word-perfect in their ability to tell the story.

Nor was it only at Christian meetings for worship that the story was repeated ; it was told time and again as an essential part of the apostles' preaching. Paul reminds his Galatian converts how before their very eyes " Jesus Christ was publicly portrayed as crucified " (Gal. iii. 1)—so vividly, we may gather, did he describe the crucifixion as he preached the gospel to them. In like vein he reminds the Corinthian Christians how, when first he visited their city with the gospel, he " decided to know nothing "

¹ A lecture delivered in the Library series of public lectures.

among them "except Jesus Christ and him crucified" (1 Cor. ii. 2). And when, later in the same epistle, he reminds them of the terms in which he preached the Gospel to them, he says that he delivered to them "as of first importance" what he himself had received—to begin with, "that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures" (1 Cor. xv. 3).

At a later stage, this emphasis reappears in the prominent place given to the passion narrative in the written Gospels, to a point where these Gospels have been described—exaggeratedly, it is true—as "passion narratives with extended introductions".¹

One point that was emphasized among others in this repeated telling of the story of the death of Christ was that it took place (as Paul puts it) "according to the scriptures". This was evidently part of the tradition as Paul received it, and not something added by himself, for it is present in all strata of the passion narrative. Peter's speech in the temple court after the healing of the lame man is generally held to present a very primitive Christology,² but it is quite definite on this point: "what God foretold by the mouth of all the prophets, that his Christ should suffer, he thus fulfilled" (Acts iii. 18). Jesus Himself, according to our earliest written Gospel, submitted to arrest in Gethsemane with the words: "let the scriptures be fulfilled" (Mark xiv. 49).

Much has been written on the precise scriptures which Jesus and the apostles may have had in mind as fulfilled in His passion. The portrayal of the Suffering Servant in Isaiah lii. 13-liii. 12 and the Righteous Sufferer's cries for help in the Psalms (e.g. Ps. xxii, lxix) come readily to mind in this connection. But the purpose of this paper is to examine another group of Old Testament prophecies which have left their mark in the passion narrative of all four Gospels—those contained in the last six chapters of the Book of Zechariah.

II

In the Massoretic text and the Septuagint version alike the night-versions of Zechariah, prophet of the return from exile (Zech. i-viii), are followed by three short prophetic corpora, each

¹ M. Kähler, quoted by G. Bornkamm, *Jesus of Nazareth* (1960), p. 17.

² Cf. J. A. T. Robinson, "The Most Primitive Christology of All?" *JTS*, n.s.7 (1956), 177 ff.

of which is introduced by the phrase "the oracle of the word of Yahweh" (Heb. *mašša' d'ēḇar YHWH*, Gk. *λῆμμα λόγου κυρίου*). The third of these has come down to us as an independent document in the volume of the Twelve Prophets, with the title "Malachi"—a title evidently derived from the mention of "my messenger" (Heb. *mal' ākī*) in Malachi iii. 1. It has been drawn upon in the Gospel narrative—expressly in relation to John the Baptist (cf. the quotation of Mal. iii. 1a in Mark i. 2 and of Mal. iv. 5 f. in Mark ix. 12) and implicitly, perhaps, in relation to the cleansing of the temple (cf. Mal. iii. 1b). But the two "oracles" which precede the book of Malachi are more closely linked with each other, and it is with them that we are to concern ourselves more particularly.

There are few Old Testament passages to which it is so difficult to assign a historical "life-setting" as it is to these two oracles. The first one (Zech. ix-xi), which begins with the proclamation of the word of Yahweh against various neighbours of Israel, has been thought to reflect the invasion of Alexander the Great in 332 B.C., or even the struggle under Antiochus Epiphanes, but the former is quite uncertain, and the latter quite improbable. The second oracle (Zech. xii-xiv), which is announced as "the word of Yahweh concerning Israel" is, if possible, even more difficult to place. Of one paragraph in these chapters (xii. 10-14) Professor Eissfeldt says that "we cannot get away from an *ignoramus*, and this *ignoramus* will in all probability continue as an *ignorabimus*".¹ We may feel that this admission could be extended to most of the contents of these three chapters, if not indeed the whole of Zechariah ix-xiv; although it is always permissible to hope that some fresh discovery will illuminate our darkness. At present it does not look as if the discoveries at Qumran will provide this particular illumination.

III

However, it is not the historical background of these chapters that we are to look at, but the use that is made of them in the New Testament. First of all, let us list the *pro forma* quotations.

¹ O. Eissfeldt, *Einl. i. d. A. T.*² (1956), p. 541.

Most famous of all, probably, is the quotation of Zechariah ix. 9 in connection with Jesus' entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. All four of the Evangelists describe how He rode into the city on a colt ; but the first and fourth quote Zechariah ix. 9 in the course of their description. Matthew says that He entered Jerusalem in this way " to fulfil what was spoken by the prophet, saying,

' Tell the daughter of Zion,
Behold, your king is coming to you,
humble and mounted on an ass,
and on a colt, the foal of an ass ' "

(Matt. xxi. 4 f.).

As is well known, Matthew separates the two parallel phrases at the end of the passage so as to see a reference to two animals instead of one, and the two animals appear in his actual narrative, as though to insist on the most literal fulfilment of the prophecy. His quotation of the passage is abbreviated, but not so abbreviated as John's. John says that " Jesus found a young ass and sat upon it ; as it is written,

' Fear not, daughter of Zion ;
behold thy king is coming,
sitting on an ass's colt ! ' "

(John xii. 14 f.).

These two quotations of Zechariah ix. 9 are independent of each other, and each deviates both from the traditional Hebrew text and from the Septuagint. While the Old Testament passage is not quoted in the accounts of the entry into Jerusalem given by the other two Evangelists, it seems very probable that Jesus' decision to ride into Jerusalem on a colt (Mark xi. 1-7 ; Luke xix. 29-35) was understood as a fulfilment of Zechariah ix. 9 even in the absence of an explicit quotation.¹

¹ In Matthew and John the *πῶλος* is expressly an ass's colt. W. Bauer (*JBL*, 72 [1953], 220 ff.) argues that when another animal is appropriately named in the context, *πῶλος* is the young of that animal, but that otherwise it means " horse ", not " colt " ; he concludes that " horse " is meant in Mark xi. 2 ff. and Luke xix. 30 ff. But see O. Michel in *NTS* 6 (1959-60), 81 f. In any case, if the Evangelists, following the intention of Jesus, had Zech. ix. 9 in mind, they would understand *πῶλος* as a young ass even if they did not expressly use *ὄνος* (or *ὑποζύγιον*, the LXX word) in the context. H. W. Kuhn (*ZNW* 50 [1959], 82 ff.) sees in Mark's account an allusion to the " foal ", in parallelism with " ass's

If we follow the sequence of the passion narrative, the next quotation comes in Mark xiv. 27 (cf. Matt. xxvi. 31). After the Last Supper Jesus and the disciples leave the upper room for the Mount of Olives; "and Jesus said to them, 'You are all going to be disillusioned; for it is written, "I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep will be scattered"'"'. This quotation from Zechariah xiii. 7 is perhaps the most important of all; it will serve as a starting-point for our enquiry. But two further direct quotations must be mentioned first.

Of all the Evangelists, Matthew is the only one to specify the sum of money which Judas was promised by the chief priests for his undertaking to betray Jesus to them. Mark (xiv. 11; cf. Luke xxii. 5) simply says that they "promised to give him money"; Matthew says that "they weighed out for him thirty pieces of silver" (Matt. xxvi. 15). This is practically a quotation from Zechariah xi. 12b, where the prophet tells us that when he asked to be paid for the services he had rendered as "shepherd of the flock doomed to slaughter", his employers "weighed out" as his wages "thirty shekels of silver." The Evangelist's dependence on the Zechariah narrative becomes still plainer when he tells of Judas' repentance and suicide, an account paralleled in none of the other Gospels. The chief priests, he says, took the thirty pieces of silver which Judas had thrown down before them in the temple, and said: "It is not lawful to put them into the treasury, since they are blood money." So they bought the potter's field with them, and that field, having been bought with blood money, came to be known as the Field of Blood.¹ The Evangelist continues:

Then was fulfilled what had been spoken by the prophet Jeremiah, saying, "And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him on whom a price had been set by some of the sons of Israel, and they gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord directed me" (Matt. xxvii. 9 f.).

The quotation is readily recognizable as coming from Zechariah xi. 13, where the prophet tells what he did with the thirty colt", of Gen. xlix. 11; cf. *Bereshith Rabba*, ad loc. (98.9)—in which precise context the thirty silver shekels of Zech. xi. 12 f. are interpreted alternatively (a) of the minimum of thirty righteous men who will always be left in the world, (b) of the thirty precepts which the Gentiles will agree to keep when Messiah comes.

¹ Cf. the account given of the name Akeldama in Acts i. 18 f.

shekels which his employers paid him for looking after their sheep.

Then Yahweh said to me, "Cast it to the moulder"¹—the lordly price at which I was valued by them. So I took the thirty shekels of silver and cast them to the moulder in the house of Yahweh.

But why does Matthew ascribe the prophecy to Jeremiah? Probably because it had already been closely associated, if not conflated, in an early set of *testimonia* with two passages from Jeremiah—Jeremiah xviii. 2 f., where Jeremiah visits the potter's house, and Jeremiah xxxii. 6-15, where he buys the family field at Anathoth.²

The last of the direct quotations comes in John's passion narrative. He describes how, just before sundown on Good Friday, the soldiers broke the legs of the two men who were crucified on either side of Jesus, before removing their bodies from the crosses—

but when they came to Jesus and saw that he was already dead, they did not break his legs. But one of the soldiers pierced his side with a spear . . . these things took place that the scripture might be fulfilled, "Not a bone of him shall be broken". And again another scripture says, "They shall look on him whom they have pierced" (John xix. 33-37).

Of these two quotations, the former comes from Exodus xii. 46, and marks Jesus out as the true Passover Lamb. The latter comes from Zechariah xii. 10, where, after the defeat of the nations who take part in the end-time siege of Jerusalem, Yahweh says :

And I will pour out on the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem a spirit of compassion and supplication, so that, when they look on him³ whom

¹ That is, to the man who melted the silver in the standard mould of the temple (cf. LXX *χωρευτήριον*, "foundry"). Heb. *yōṣēr*, of course, usually means "potter"; but a potter would be difficult to account for in the temple. The Syriac version reads *ôṣār*, "treasury", and this is preferred by R.S.V. Cf. the reference to the "treasury" in Matt. xxvii. 6.

² I am indebted to Mr. R. H. Gundry for the suggestion that the Jeremiah passage referred to is xix. 1-13, where the prophet, at the "Potsherd Gate", breaks a "potter's earthen flask" in token that Jerusalem will be destroyed like "a potter's vessel", and announces that the Valley of Ben-hinnom will in future be known as "the Valley of Slaughter".

³ MT *ālai*, "on me". John xix. 37 (*ὁψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν*) presupposes a Hebrew text with *ālāw*, "on him". John xix. 37 and Rev. i. 7 give a more literal rendering of Heb. *dāqārū* (*ἐξεκέντησαν*, "they pierced") than does LXX (*κατωρχήσαντο*, "they danced" or "mocked").

they have pierced, they shall mourn for him, as one mourns for an only child, and weep bitterly over him, as one weeps over a first-born.

There is another reference to this passage in the Johannine literature of the New Testament, where the seer of Patmos announces Christ's coming with the clouds, when "every eye will see him, every one who pierced him, and all tribes of the earth will wail on account of him" (Rev. i. 7).¹

These direct quotations, distributed among three of the Evangelists, might in themselves go far to support Professor Dodd's inclusion of Zechariah ix-xiv among the "primary sources of testimonies" used by the primitive Church.²

IV

"You are all going to be disillusioned, because it is written, 'I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep will be scattered'." So said Jesus to His disciples as He led them to Gethsemane. "But," He added, "after I am raised up, I will lead you forth to Galilee" (Mark xiv. 28). These last words are echoed in Mark's resurrection narrative: the young man who appears to the frightened women outside the empty tomb says to them: "go, tell his disciples and Peter that he is leading you forth to Galilee; you will see him there, as he told you" (Mark xvi. 7).

The Zechariah passage which Jesus quotes belongs to an isolated oracle (Zech. xiii. 7):

Awake, O sword, against my shepherd,
against the man who stands next to me,
says Yahweh of hosts.

Strike the shepherd, that the sheep may be scattered;
I will turn my hand against the little ones . . .

Whether there was originally a reference here to the earlier shepherd passage in Zechariah xi is uncertain, but it is a possibility to be seriously considered. In that chapter not only does the prophet play a shepherd's part for a season to the flock of Israel, but a "worthless shepherd" is also introduced, against whom

¹ Cf. also Matt. xxiv. 30, "and then all the tribes of the earth will mourn" (a non-Markan clause).

² C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures* (1952), p. 107; cf. pp. 64-7.

doom is pronounced for his deserting of the flock: "May the sword smite his arm and his right eye! Let his arm be wholly withered, his right eye utterly blinded!" (Zech. xi. 17). That this worthless shepherd should be described as Yahweh's *geber* 'āmîṭ, His associate, is improbable; although this appears to be the interpretation put upon the passage in MS. B of the *Zadokite Work* (xix. 5-9):

But all the despisers of the commandments and ordinances [shall be visited with extinction] when God visits the earth to cause the recompense of the wicked to return upon them, when the word comes to pass which is written by the prophet Zechariah: "Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, against the man who stands next to me, says God; strike the shepherd, that the sheep may be scattered; I will turn my hand against the little ones." And those who "gave heed" to him are "the poor of the flock".

In this interpretation the "shepherd" seems to be one of the wicked rulers of Israel who misled and exploited the common people, while "the poor of the flock" are probably to be identified with the faithful community. Professor Rabin,¹ however, thinks that the smitten shepherd may be the Teacher of Righteousness; he mentions the Gospel texts which identify this shepherd with Jesus, Ibn Ezra's referring of the passage to the events following the death of Messiah ben Joseph, the precursor-Messiah, and the Karaite Moses Dar'i's referring of it to the Messiah. But in the context of the *Zadokite Work* it looks rather as if the smitten shepherd is interpreted as being a wicked ruler, although in the original context of Zechariah xiii a ruler acknowledged and approved by God would seem to be much more in place.

There is, at any rate, no doubt about the application of the passage in Mark xiv. 27; the smitten shepherd is Jesus. Moreover, according to Mark, it is Jesus Himself who makes the identification. I have no doubt at all that Mark is right in ascribing this interpretation of the prophecy to Jesus; it is all of a piece with Jesus' presentation of Himself as the Shepherd of Israel—a presentation which can be traced in most of the Gospel strata.

We may recall an earlier occasion in Mark's Gospel, where Jesus had compassion on a great throng of Israelites, "because they were like sheep without a shepherd" (Mark vi. 34). Professor T. W. Manson has pointed out that, whereas we tend to think

¹ C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents*² (1956), p. 31.

of this expression as though it meant "a congregation without a minister", we should think of it here rather in terms of its Old Testament usage, where it means "an army without a general, a nation without a national leader".¹ The anointed king is repeatedly described as a shepherd in the Old Testament, and when Jeremiah and Ezekiel look forward to a future prince of the house of David who will rule Israel in wisdom and justice, they depict him as a faithful shepherd, by contrast with the unworthy shepherds who betrayed their trust (cf. Jer. xxiii. 1-6; Ezek. xxxiv. 23 f., xxxvii. 24).² It is such Old Testament passages as these that underlie the self-portrayal of Jesus as the good shepherd in John x. 1-16, but their influence can be traced in the Synoptic tradition too, and along with them we must reckon a number of passages in Zechariah ix-xiv.

The occasion when Jesus pitied the crowds who were leaderless and bewildered like sheep without a shepherd was just before the feeding of the five thousand. It is noteworthy that, in John's narrative of the feeding, the crowds tried to compel Jesus to be their king (John vi. 15). If He could supply their needs in the wilderness, could He not also lead them against their enemies? But Jesus did not let them have their way with Him. He was only too ready to be shepherd to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel",³ but on His own terms, not on theirs. And when they realized that He was not going to be the kind of leader that they wanted Him to be, many of them refused to have Him as a leader at all, and gave up following Him (John vi. 66). The undesigned coincidences between the Johannine and Synoptic accounts of the feeding and its aftermath are too impressive to be dismissed as accidental, and we are perfectly justified in making judicious use of details in the one account to illuminate details in the other.

The flock of Israel as a whole will not have Him as their shepherd, but there are some who persist in following Him, and with them He now makes a new beginning. By comparison with the nation, they are but a "little flock"; but in them lies the

¹ T. W. Manson, *The Servant-Messiah* (1953), p. 70.

² Cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 45, where the coming Messiah is pictured as "shepherding the flock of the Lord faithfully and righteously".

³ A Matthaean expression; cf. Matt. x. 6, xv. 24.

hope of the future. "Fear not, little flock", Jesus could say to them, "for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom" (Luke xii. 32). And it was the members of this little flock, who continued with Him in His trials (cf. Luke xxii. 28), that He had in mind when He announced the fulfilment of Zechariah xiii. 7 on the night of His betrayal. He Himself was the shepherd who was about to be smitten; they were the sheep who were to be scattered. But beyond the smiting and the scattering there was yet hope. "After I am raised up, I will lead you forth to Galilee" (Mark xiv. 28.) The shepherd would come back to his scattered sheep, he would rally them again and continue to lead them as he had done in the past.

When we see the quotation of Zechariah xiii. 7 not as something isolated, but as part of Jesus' presentation of Himself as the good shepherd, we begin to see other things. In particular, we begin to see the germ of the use of Zechariah ix-xiv in the Gospels, and especially in the passion narrative. For the figure of the shepherd recurs throughout these six chapters.

In Zechariah ix. 16 those whom Yahweh delivers in the day of His intervention are "the flock of his people". In Zechariah x. 3 His anger burns hot against the shepherds who have thus far ruled His people, "for Yahweh of hosts cares for his flock, the house of Judah". In Zechariah xi the prophet himself is commanded by Yahweh to serve as "shepherd of the flock doomed to slaughter", because the existing shepherds exploit them and traffic in them. He obeys, and tends the sheep with his two staffs, named Grace and Union. By virtue of the authority divinely committed to him, he promptly deposes or destroys the unfaithful shepherds, three in number. But even so the sheep do not appreciate his services, and he becomes impatient with them. At last he refuses to be their shepherd any longer, breaks one of his staffs, and asks for his wages. He is paid thirty silver shekels, and he recognizes the insult implicit in this miserly sum—it was the price which, in the ancient covenant-law, a slave-owner received as compensation for a slave gored to death by someone else's ox (Exod. xxi. 32). But the prophet has been acting throughout as the agent and representative of Yahweh, the true Shepherd of Israel, and the insult is directed as much at Yahweh

as at His servant. So, at Yahweh's command, this "lordly price" is appropriately disposed of, thrown into the temple foundry to be melted down, and the prophet breaks his other staff, betokening a dissolution of the national unity of all Israel. The flock which has rejected a faithful shepherd receives once again a harsh and oppressive shepherd to take charge of it.

In much, though not all, of this passage (so hard to attach to a firm historical setting) Jesus saw His own rôle as the messianic shepherd foreshadowed. In the course of the passage there are two references to a group called in A.V. and R.V. "the poor of the flock" (Heb. *"niyyê haššō'n*). R.S.V. calls them "the traf-fickers in the sheep", which is also the only meaning that can be extracted from the Septuagint.¹ But we have seen how the *Zadokite Work* quotes Zechariah xi. 11, where "the poor of the flock" are those who "gave heed" to the prophet, with evident reference to the faithful remnant, the Zadokite community; and we may wonder whether the "little flock" of Luke xii. 32 does not echo "the poor of the flock" in Zechariah xi. 11 and (even more certainly) "the little ones" of Zechariah xiii. 7. Whether there was an original connection between chapters xi and xiii of Zechariah or not, Jesus at any rate draws on both places in His self-portrayal as the repudiated and smitten shepherd.

If we are right thus far, then the entry into Jerusalem takes on a fresh significance. As we have seen, it is the two later Evangelists, Matthew and John, who expressly quote Zechariah ix. 9 in this context, but there is an implicit reference to the prophecy in the Markan account of the entry (which is followed quite closely by Luke). In the original context there is no doubt that the king who comes to Zion is the long-expected prince of the house of David. In Zechariah ix. 10 he is described in language borrowed from Psalm lxxii. 7 f. and similar passages in the earlier prophets:

he shall command peace to the nations;
his dominion shall be from sea to sea,
and from the River to the ends of the earth.²

¹ εἰς τὴν Χαναανῆτιν (xi. 7), οἱ Χαναανῶι (xi. 11); cf. xiv. 21, where Χαναανῶις represents Heb. *kāna'ānī* ("trader").

² Cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 36-39.

We know how the rabbis of a later date debated this oracle : how could the Messiah come " meek and sitting on an ass " if he was also to come " with the clouds of heaven " ? Rabbi Joshua ben Levi, who propounded the riddle, supplied his own solution : " If they are worthy, he will come with the clouds of heaven ; if they are not worthy, meek and sitting on an ass." ¹ But what was in the mind of Jesus as He carried out His plan to ride into Jerusalem thus ? He certainly wished it to be known that He was presenting Himself to the city in that day of its visitation, not as a warrior-Messiah but as a peaceful prince—more precisely, as Israel's shepherd-king. The attendant crowds who acclaimed " the coming kingdom of our father David " (Mark xi. 10) grasped part of His intention, but they may well have missed the more important part. We should take quite seriously the remark which is appended in John xii. 16 to the quotation of Zechariah ix. 9 : " His disciples did not understand this at first ; but when Jesus was glorified, then they remembered that this had been written of him and had been done to him."

Hard upon the proclamation of the peaceful king comes Yahweh's announcement of liberation to the captives " because of the blood of my covenant with you " (Zech. ix. 11). The resemblance between this and " my covenant blood " in our Lord's words of institution (Mark xiv. 24) can scarcely be fortuitous, although the scripture principally in His mind then appears to have been Exodus xxiv. 8.

In the light of this usage of Zechariah ix-xiv, other sayings and incidents in the Gospel narrative take on a fresh significance. The entry into Jerusalem was followed, a day or two later, by the incident of the unfruitful fig tree. In the context of this incident Mark places one of Jesus' sayings about faith : " Truly, I say to you, whoever says to this mountain, ' Be taken up and cast into the sea ', and does not doubt in his heart, but believes that what he says will come to pass, it will be done for him " (Mark xi. 23). It was pointed out several years ago by the late Professor William Manson of Edinburgh ² that this is probably not such a

¹ TB *Sanh.* 98a. The implied identification of the " one like a son of man " of Dan. vii. 13 with the Messiah is remarkable but not unparalleled in rabbinical literature.

² W. Manson, *Jesus the Messiah* (1943), pp. 29 f.

floating logion as some form critics have maintained. For, if Mark's setting is right, "this mountain" could only have been the Mount of Olives, which, according to Zechariah xiv. 4, was to be cleft asunder on the Day of the Lord, when Yahweh came down to fight against Jerusalem's enemies. The natural inference is that not Mark but "*Jesus* had the Old Testament passage in mind, and the tradition followed by Mark was here true to history". The logion is then a picturesque way of saying, "If only you have sufficient faith in God, the promised Day of the Lord will come swiftly".

The same passage of Zechariah, describing the siege and capture of Jerusalem, has influenced some of the language in the eschatological discourse, especially in its Lukan form, where the surrounding of Jerusalem with armies replaces the Markan allusion to the abomination of desolation.¹ And the flowing of living waters from Jerusalem, mentioned later in the same chapter of Zechariah, may underlie the words of Jesus in John vii. 38: "as the scripture has said, 'from the midst thereof shall flow rivers of living water'."

There is in this interpretation of Zechariah ix-xiv something quite different from the atomistic procedure which characterizes the Qumran commentaries on the Old Testament. One dominating principle—here, the portrayal of the shepherd-king—is discerned throughout the whole section of prophecy, and becomes determinative for the application of any part of it. Professor T. W. Manson gave a lecture in this Library over eight years ago on "The Old Testament in the Teaching of Jesus"² in which he concluded that "our Lord's treatment of the Old Testament is based on two things: a profound understanding of the essential teaching of the Hebrew Scriptures and a sure judgement of his own contemporary situation. There is nothing trivial or artificial about his use of the Old Testament: throughout we feel that we are in touch with realities, the realities of the divine revelation and the realities of the historical situation." I feel that a study of our

¹ Cf. C. H. Dodd, "The Fall of Jerusalem and the 'Abomination of Desolation'", *JRS*, 37 (1947), 47 ff.; also C. C. Torrey, *Documents of the Primitive Church* (1941), pp. 20 ff.

² BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, 34 (1951-2), 312 ff.

Lord's use, in word and action, of Zechariah ix-xiv confirms this conclusion.

V

With their Master's use of these chapters as a precedent, the Evangelists, as we might expect, had little difficulty in finding further correspondences between them and His ministry. Matthew's use of the thirty pieces of silver we have already considered. "There is", says Professor Dodd, "no reason to suppose that this belongs to the primitive corpus of *testimonia*, but we may well believe that Matthew was led to it because the whole passage of Zechariah was already recognized as a source of testimonies."¹ Moreover, the belief that Judas' defection was a subject of Old Testament prediction is deeply embedded in the Gospel tradition. In Jesus' announcement of the betrayal in Mark xiv. 18-21, the words "The Son of Man goes as it is written of him, but woe to that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed!" may contain a hint that "that man" is also going as it is written of *him*. However that may be, the belief comes to full expression in Acts i. 16 ff., where Peter assures his fellow-disciples that "the scripture had to be fulfilled which the Holy Spirit spoke beforehand by the mouth of David, concerning Judas"; and goes on to quote two *testimonia* from the Psalter (Ps. lxxix. 25, cix. 8) to show what he had in mind. We remember too that in John's passion narrative Jesus applies to Judas the language of Psalms xli. 9, "He who ate my bread has lifted his heel against me" (John xiii. 18),² and later says in His prayer for His disciples: "none of them is lost"³ but the son of perdition, that the scripture might be fulfilled" (John xvii. 12). This being so, it is not surprising that Matthew should find a further *testimonium* in Zechariah xi, where the services of Yahweh's shepherd are estimated at a mere thirty shekels.

It is worth observing, too, that Matthew evidently knows the variant "treasury" (Heb. 'ôšār) for "moulder" or "potter"

¹ *According to the Scriptures* (1952), pp. 64 f.

² There may be similar significance in the parallel words in Mark xiv. 18, "one who is eating with me".

³ Professor A. Guiling connects this with Zech. x. 10 LXX, "not even one of them shall be left behind" (*The Fourth Gospel in Jewish Worship* (1960), p. 165).

(Heb. *yôṣēr*) in Zechariah xi. 13. In his account it is almost as if the chief priests said: "How shall we fulfil this scripture? Shall we give it to the 'ôṣār or to the *yôṣēr*? We cannot give it to the 'ôṣār because it is blood-money; let us give it to the *yôṣēr*." So they bought the potter's field with it. They did not get the field, at any rate, out of the *testimonium*, and Matthew, as we have seen, conflates this *testimonium* with another from Jeremiah, where a field is purchased. This, taken along with the story in Acts i. 18 f., rather suggests that a field *was* bought with the reward of Judas' iniquity. I will not go farther, as Dr. Del Medico invites one to do,¹ and identify Akeldama with the Qumran cemetery, purchased for a song to bury strangers in after the sediment of potter's clay had been worked out; this calls for qualities of imaginative insight which I do not command.

To the Fourth Evangelist, too, the association of Zechariah ix-xiv with the passion narrative was no new idea; it was something that he had "received", in common with his fellow-Evangelists. His quotation of Zechariah ix. 9 in connection with Jesus' entry into Jerusalem is, as we have seen, independent of Matthew's quotation of the same *testimonium*. His quotation of Zechariah xii. 10, "they shall look upon him whom they pierced", is not found in any other Gospel; there was, of course, no occasion for another Evangelist to quote it, as John alone mentions the piercing of Jesus' side with the spear (as he is also the only Evangelist to make express reference to the nails by which Jesus' hands were pierced when he was crucified).² It may be argued that it was this *testimonium* and the companion one from the directions for preparing the paschal lamb that suggested the story of the piercing to the Evangelist; he might almost be thought to have anticipated this argument by the solemnity with which he impresses on his readers that these details were marked by an eye-witness whose reliability is beyond question. As in other details of the passion story, it is the event that has suggested the *testimonium*, and not the other way about.

¹ H. E. Del Medico, *The Riddle of the Scrolls* (1958), pp. 93 f.

² There may well be an allusion to the wounds left by the nails in Luke xxiv. 39: "See my hands and my feet."

But in his brief reference to Zechariah xii. 10 he has suggested something more than he may have completely realized. The prophet compares the mourning over the pierced one to "the mourning for Hadad-rimmon in the plain of Megiddo" (xii. 11). Now the annually repeated lamentation for a fertility deity, never finished and always fruitless, has been swallowed up by the compassionate tears of penitent supplicants for a victim pierced once for all, never to be struck again. Whatever be the original reference of the piercing and the mourning, in the passion narrative it has been given an implicit reference to the smitten shepherd of Zechariah xiii. 7.¹

The cleansing of the temple in the Fourth Gospel is not closely bound up with the passion narrative as it is in the Synoptic Gospels; John, perhaps for programmatic reasons, places it at the beginning of the ministry, not at the end. But when he reports Jesus as saying, "you shall not make my Father's house a house of trade" (John ii. 16),² he may well be echoing the closing words of Zechariah xiv: "there shall no longer be a trader in the house of Yahweh of hosts on that day." The rendering "trader" (R.S.V.) for "Canaanite" is at least as old as the Targum.³ One might not have so readily seen an allusion to Zechariah xiv. 21b in this part of John's narrative were it not that we have such conclusive evidence elsewhere of his drawing upon Zechariah ix-xiv as a source of *testimonia*.

Even so, one may well hesitate to go so far as to find an echo of Zechariah ix-xiv in his statement that the high priest's slave whom Peter wounded at Jesus' arrest was called Malchus (John xviii. 10). It has been suggested in one of the most important studies of the Fourth Gospel to appear in recent years that John called the slave Malchus to show that the narrative of the arrest fulfilled Zechariah xi. 6, "I will cause men to fall each into the hand of his neighbour,⁴ and each into the hand of his king

¹ In TB *Sukkah* 52a the pierced one who is mourned in Zech. xii. 10 is the Messiah ben Joseph, fallen in battle.

² In the same context (verse 17) John quotes from Ps. lxix, another fertile source of passion *testimonia*. The rebuke of Jesus in Mark xi. 17 points the contrast between "a house of prayer for all nations" (Isa. lvi. 7) and "a den of robbers" (Jer. vii. 11).

³ Targ. *taggarâ*; cf. TB *Pesahim* 50a.

⁴ MT *rē'ēhû*. R.S.V. renders "his shepherd", as though reading Heb. *rô'ēhû*.

(*malḱô*)".¹ But there is a basic appropriateness about John's other allusions to Zechariah ix-xiv which is lacking here ; no one fell into Malchus' hand, and why, of all the people present, should the high priest's slave be chosen to fulfil the prophecy about a "king"? It is more likely that the Evangelist tells us that the slave's name was Malchus because he happened to know that Malchus, in fact, was his name.

If Jesus was the first to speak of His passion in terms of Zechariah ix-xiv, the Evangelists follow His example not only in finding other foreshadowings of His passion there, but in finding them in a manner that does not do violence to the original sense and context. These chapters present a pattern of revelation and response which the Evangelists recognize as recurring in the story of Jesus.

It is, I think, worthy of mention, as illustrating their sobriety and restraint, that none of them makes use of the utterance of Zechariah xiii. 6, where the man who tries to hide the fact that he is a prophet explains away the ecstatic wounds "between his hands" by saying that he received them in the house of his friends. No New Testament writer, and (to the best of my knowledge) no Christian writer of the earliest centuries A.D., tries to see in this utterance a prophecy of the nail-wounds in our Lord's hands, "in the grossest misapprehension of its meaning".² E. B. Pusey's attempt to take it closely with the immediately following words about the smitten shepherd carries its refutation on its face.³

There are obvious differences between the Evangelists' use of these six chapters of Zechariah and the use of scripture found in the Qumran *pesharim*. But in one important respect they have something in common ; in neither community are incidents invented to fit the scriptures—on the contrary, the scriptures are interpreted in the light of the events. The *presentation* of the incidents is another matter. Parts of the passion narrative of the

¹ A. Guiling, op. cit. pp. 165 f.; cf. p. 232 : "St. John took this, and many other such details, from the synagogue lections . . . since the lections were inspired scripture they had for him an authority which far outweighed that of any human testimony, however well attested."

² T. V. Moore, *The Book of Zechariah* (1856, reprinted 1958), pp. 208 f.

³ E. B. Pusey, *The Minor Prophets* (1860), pp. 583 f.

Gospels—especially the First and Fourth—are recorded in such a way as to present a commentary or *midrash* on Zechariah ix-xiv and other prophetic scriptures, but that was because the Evangelists saw such a clear correspondence between the prophetic *testimonia* and the events to which the apostles and their colleagues testified as having taken place *sub Pontio Pilato*.

THE CHANGING PATTERN OF THOUGHT IN THE EARLIER FOURTEENTH CENTURY

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THE pattern of thought during the first half of the fourteenth century is as yet far from clear. A formidable array of thinkers and systems remains to be analyzed ; until this is done there can be no certainty for our present conclusions. At the same time certain features are beginning to emerge ; and it becomes increasingly possible to trace their contours. The present attempt to do so, inevitably provisional, is an amplification, and in parts a modification, of an earlier sketch.¹

I

The more the thought of the earlier fourteenth century is considered, the more apparent its discontinuity with the thirteenth century becomes. The years from the last decade of the thirteenth century until certainly the time of the Black Death in 1349 saw a generation of thinkers whose guiding preoccupation was with redefining previous concepts. Where their predecessors of the thirteenth century had sought, in greater or lesser degree, to incorporate knowledge into a framework of revelation, men as different in outlook as William of Ockham (d. 1349), Thomas Bradwardine (d. 1349), Robert Holcot (d. 1349), Thomas Buckingham (d. 1351), Adam of Woodham (d. 1357), Gregory of Rimini (d. 1358), to mention only a few, emphasized their incompatibility ; where the Augustinians as well as the Christian Aristotelians of the thirteenth century had striven for some common ground from which to view the divine and the created, fourteenth century thinkers affirmed the absoluteness of their separation. Their emphasis was upon the limits rather than the scope of reason ; and they displayed none of the confidence

¹ "The fourteenth century and the decline of scholasticism", *Past and Present*, ix (April 1956), 30-41.

towards its powers which their forerunners of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had enjoyed. More specifically they were no longer willing to conceive the created world in terms of the truths of revelation ; or, rather, to try to adduce the latter from natural experience. Revealed truth was taken out of reason's ken. Thus the existence of God, His nature and His actions, the creation of the world *ex nihilo* and in time, the relation between the Divine Persons, the requisites of salvation, the relation of divine and free will, which had provided the framework for all previous, Christian thinking, came to be regarded as beyond the scope of natural reason ; they were the province of faith, and should remain thus.

It was here that the great breach with previous tradition took place ; for it constituted the rejection of the union of faith with reason which was the basis of scholasticism. It meant the reversion to an outlook far closer to that of St. Augustine than of the so-called Augustinians of the thirteenth century.¹ However much Ockham differed from St. Augustine, both accepted the independence of theology from natural knowledge ; they both shared the fundamental assumption that God was unknowable and His ways inscrutable ; and neither recognized the sequence from natural knowledge to knowledge of God. The affinity here between the fourth and the fourteenth century is the measure of the distance between the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. It can hardly be exaggerated ; for it meant not merely the divergence between what men believed and what they knew ; but the sundering of the entire integument which had bound natural knowledge to faith. Almost at a stroke it cut loose the vast corpus of metaphysics and science, which had come to the West via the Arabs. The efforts at its assimilation into the tenets of Christian faith, which had been the guiding task of the majority of thirteenth-century thinkers, were abandoned ; and instead

¹ The Augustinians were those thinkers in the thirteenth century who sought to give a traditional interpretation to the findings of Aristotle and the Arabian and Jewish thinkers like Avicenna and Avicbrol. They did so by filtering off those elements which could be harmonized with the teachings of St. Augustine, although in the process they became considerably modified. For a discussion of this subject see the writer's *Medieval Thought : from St. Augustine to Ockham* (1958), pp. 190-4.

Christendom was presented with two different interpretations of truth—the natural and the revealed—without any means of reconciling them. The laws of the created order had no bearing upon the divine ; each had to be taken in itself, however disconcerting the consequences.

This separation between faith and reason provided the setting for the intellectual developments of the first half of the fourteenth century. It confronted its thinkers with a new and, since the time of St. Augustine, unprecedented situation : that of the infinite and unbridgeable chasm between God and his creatures. Where God, as supreme being, was both necessary and free, the latter were merely contingent, devoid of any *raison d'être* other than God's willing: the result, therefore, of an entirely gratuitous act on God's part. On the one hand was God, eternal and uncaused ; and on the other, His creatures who could as well never have been. It was this obsessive awareness of the contingent, not to say fortuitous, nature of creation that above all transformed the intellectual climate of the fourteenth century and accounts for its most revolutionary features. These came about at both the levels of the divine and the created ; and in examining them separately it is necessary to emphasize their essential interdependence.

II

So far as God was concerned, the new element was the emphasis upon His freedom. Now this was not a mere invocation of His omnipotence but something more akin to a metamorphosis of His nature. It rested upon the time-honoured distinction between God's two kinds of power. His absolute power (" *potentia absoluta* ") and His ordained power (" *potentia ordinata* ").¹ By God's ordained power it was accepted that there was an eternal order which He had decreed for this world and which governed its workings. It had been made known to man through God's word as found in the Scriptures, the teachings of the *Sancti* and the canons of the Church, and it was enshrined in the sacramental life of the Church. By contrast, God's

¹ For a fuller discussion of these concepts see the writer's *Bradwardine and the Pelagians* (Cambridge, 1957), ch. viii.

absolute power referred to His omnipotence pure and simple; it represented His own untrammelled nature and owed no obligation to sustain any fixed order. Ultimately, then, God in His absolute power was always able to override His ordinances, for the latter were only a specific application of His infinite power.

Now it would seem that the use of God's "potentia absoluta" was the most potent force in fourteenth-century thought, and the one most responsible for transforming the traditional conceptions. While not in itself new—Peter Damian had invoked God's omnipotence in the eleventh century—its widespread application was. It reached its height during the decade of the 1340s at Paris, where the university authorities attempted to ban the doctrines to which it gave rise. In 1340 the Rector of the University, John Buridan, condemned Ockhamism in general terms for engendering in the arts faculty an attitude of doubt towards the accepted authorities and towards the correspondence between terms and things, and leading to conclusions that "Socrates and Plato, God and creatures, were nothing"¹. The climax was reached in 1346 and 1347. In the former year the Pope in a letter to the masters and scholars of the University,² attacked the recent tendency in both philosophy and theology to turn away from the accepted authorities to "alias novas et extraneas doctrinas sophisticas, que in quibusdam aliis doceri dicuntur studiis, et opiniones apparentes non existentes et inutiles, et quibus fructus non capitur". The worst feature was disregard of the Bible and the *sancti*, the very foundations of faith, in favour of "philosophicis questionibus et aliis disputationibus et suspectis opinionibus". This letter, dated 20 May 1346, followed immediately on the condemnation of sixty articles taken

¹ Denifle-Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris, 1891), ii. 1042, pp. 505-7. "videlicet quod nulli magistri, baccarii vel scolares in artium facultate legentes Parisius audeant aliquam propositionem famosam illius actoris cujus librum legunt, dicere simpliciter esse falsam, vel esse falsam de virtute sermonis . . . Item quod nullus dicat scientiam nullam esse de rebus que non sunt signa. . . . Item quod nullus asserat absque distinctione vel expositione quod Socrates et Plato vel Deus et creatura nihil sunt, quoniam illa verba prima facie male sonant."

² Ibid. 1125, pp. 587-90, Litterae Clementis VI ad magistros et scholares Paris., quos de studio et doctrina nonnullorum recentiorum philosophorum et theologorum objurgat.

from the writing of Nicholas d'Autrecourt, on 19 May.¹ When these are considered together with the condemnation of the fifty articles of John de Mirecourt in the following year,² they give us some picture of the "pestiferous" and "pernicious" doctrines referred to in the Pope's letter. Those of Nicholas are mainly concerned with the absence of natural certainty: knowledge of the existence or non-existence of one thing does not enable us to deduce the existence or non-existence of another (1-8); there is no certainty of natural substances or of causality (9-19); or of the greater nobility of one thing over another; or that God is "ens nobilissimum" (22); or that the expressions "God" and "creature" signify anything real (32, 54, 55). Finally, God could command a rational creature to hate Him (58), and, if the former's will is dependent upon God, he could not sin or err (59). With John de Mirecourt, on the other hand, the majority of his opinions are concerned with moral theology, and above all with God as the cause of sin (10-14, 16, 17, 18, 33, 34); of the soul's hate of Him (31-32); and of all acts of the created will (35-38). John also repeats the current notions that Christ could mislead, be misled and hate God (1-6); also that God predestines on account of future good works and the proper use of free will (47-50), and that something higher than God could be envisaged (46).

Without attempting an exhaustive analysis here, it is apparent that each set of propositions expresses what can only be described as an attitude of scepticism; while most of Nicholas's are over the impossibility of inferring that which is not given in experience, John emphasizes at once the omnicausality of God and His unpredictability: free will is virtually absolved from moral responsibility. The reasons for this attitude are not far to seek. For the first time priority in the consideration of God went to His omnipotence, with His "potentia absoluta" as its vehicle. In the first place, it rendered God unknowable to His creatures, if not in His nature, then certainly in His ways. Since by His absolute power He could do ever differently from how He had

¹ Denifle-Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris, 1891), ii. 1124, pp. 567-87.

² *Ibid.* 1147, pp. 610-13.

ordained, save of course contradict Himself, no constant mode of activity could be ascribed to Him. More, He could openly flout what He had decreed by His "potentia ordinata". Accordingly he could override all the accepted laws of conduct, without in any way impairing His own nature. As Adam of Woodham (d. 1357) said: "Righteousness consists in what He wills and that is wholly rational which He decrees."¹ If taken to extremes its effects were far-reaching. Thus it was held that God could mislead, that Christ could be misled, that revelation could falsify, that God could love the mortal sinner more than the man in grace, that God could want a man to hate Him, that grace and mortal sin could coexist, that free will was more important than grace and so on.² In this aspect, it need hardly be said, God in his "potentia absoluta" was a very different God from that of tradition, and His actions became bereft of any ascertainable principle other than the exercise of His omnipotence. It is true that not every thinker interpreted God's absolute power in so extreme a way. Gregory of Rimini, for example, held strictly to His traditional attributes of goodness, mercy and wisdom as quite independent of any arbitrary fiat of His will; yet he, too, recognized the indeterminacy of His actions.³ In this case its purpose was far more the reply of a Christian thinker to the necessitarianism of the Greco-Arab systems; and the overwhelming majority of those in the fourteenth century—Bradwardine excepted—followed Henry of Ghent and Duns Scotus in directing God's absolute power against the assumption of the inviolability of the present dispensation. They exalted God's omnipotence in reply to those who exalted the sovereignty of creation. It was a blow struck not against dogma but its finality; and as such applied to the whole of creation.⁴

¹ "Respondeo quod rectitudo est quod vult et rationale est omnino quod fiat sibi" (*Commentary on the Sentences*, bk. i, d. 17, q. 1, MS. B.N., Paris, FL. 15892). In an even more revealing passage he goes so far as to state as the justification for God's "potentia absoluta" that it enables God to do differently than He has decreed by His ordained power (*ibid.* q. 3).

² *Op. cit.*

³ *Commentary on the Sentences*, bk. i, d. 42-4, q. 1, a. 2.

⁴ I have here found it necessary to modify my previous view (*op. cit.* and *Bradwardine and the Pelagians*, loc. cit.) that the use of God's "potentia absoluta" was primarily an instrument of scepticism constituting a deliberate assault

Everything depended upon the way in which God himself was regarded. If He was to be viewed solely in terms of His power, the morality of His actions did not arise ; and it was here that the division between the radicals, like Ockham and his followers, and the traditionalists, like Gregory of Rimini and Thomas Bradwardine, arose. For the former, God's omnipotence was its own justification ; if He should lie or mislead or ignore His own ordinances, His ability to do so (which by His absolute power was unqualifiedly possible) was sufficient reason. No moral consideration was involved for everything was subordinate to the act of willing. God's "*potentia absoluta*" lay outside revealed truth ; the latter was one, contingent, aspect of His nature, but in no way an exclusive or a necessary one. As such it had no wider relevance to God's ultimate nature than any other dispensation He may have conceived. In order therefore to transcend its inherent limitations the only available light in which to view Him was by His absolute will, for this alone was germane to God as God ; it enabled us to recognize the contingent nature of all that was outside Him without attempting to attribute to Him qualities which, by virtue of their contingency, were from us not from Him. To reach an understanding of God meant, in effect, cutting through every assumption, other than that He was, as God, necessary, and, as creator, sovereignly free. This was not to deny that God was good or wise or merciful ; it meant that we were in no position to define those attributes in any but contingent terms. As with everything known, or revealed to us, they were from the aspect in which we viewed them. There was no reason for concluding that what we saw was the same in God or that it could not be superseded : God was good certainly, but His goodness was not of our devising ; He was wise but with a wisdom we could not fathom. He was a law unto Himself.

upon the rational foundations of faith. It led to such an attitude at the hands of the Ockhamists in making the articles of faith inaccessible to rational demonstration ; but with Gregory of Rimini, in particular, it served the opposite purpose of safeguarding God's actions from speculation, while at the same time safeguarding revealed truth. It is possible that with further investigation this attitude will prove to be more widespread than we are at present aware.

Such were the assumptions, implied rather than stated, behind the theological paradoxes made by the Ockhamists in the name of God's absolute power. Its relation to an epistemology which refused to give certainty to what lay beyond practical experience is apparent. For the present, however, it is enough to stress that it was not inherent in the conception of God's "*potentia absoluta*"; it was but one, and widespread, interpretation. For Gregory of Rimini, for example, its purpose was to secure God's freedom from any set course of action, while recognizing the inviolable qualities of His attributes—mercy, justice, goodness and so on. God was by definition good; were He to lie or sin He would not be God.¹

This brings us to the second aspect of God's "*potentia absoluta*": it served to emphasize the inherent contingency of the created order. This applied equally to its physical and its moral aspects. In each case its rôle was to point to the possibility of an alternative to the existing laws; it stood as an ever-present *caveat* against taking them as invariable. Thus in the case of the physical world all the accepted evidence of natural experience could be superseded. To begin with, our knowledge could be about nothing; for if God so willed He could create an illusion, thus inducing immediate knowledge of what was non-existent. Similarly, the empirical laws of mechanics and physics could be overruled: two bodies could occupy the same space, or a form could be intensified infinitely; the world could be finite and eternal; so could creatures; there could be several infinite worlds; something could come into being only for an instance or exist at two separate instances in time, and so on.² In all these ways God's "*potentia absoluta*" expressed the inherent uncertainty of the natural world and the impossibility of a natural theology. Nor were these conceptions confined to a lunatic fringe: they formed part of the discussions of most serious thinkers, often men of impeccable orthodoxy like Gregory of Rimini; and they can be interpreted as much as a testimony to their faith in God's freedom of will as doubt about the world.

¹ *Sentences*, i, d. 42-4, q. 1, a. 1.

² All of these positions were upheld by Gregory of Rimini, as I have discussed in my forthcoming study, *Gregory of Rimini: tradition and innovation in fourteenth century thought*.

In the case of moral laws the issues were more involved ; for whereas the consequences of indeterminacy in the order of nature fell mainly upon Aristotle's cosmology, in undermining his hierarchy of causes, in ethics it was liable to call into question both God's nature and the foundations of scriptural authority. With God ever-liable to supersede what He had ordained, Scripture could no longer be regarded as the infallible repository of our knowledge of God's ways or their implication for man. It was His word, but not necessarily His last word : its prophecies might not come to pass and God's precepts could remain unfulfilled. Once again it was by the extremists that such conclusions were drawn. By doing so they gave rise to two main groups of questions, those connected with grace and free will ; and those over God's foreknowledge. Both called into question the very foundations of scriptural authority ; and accordingly it was here, as we have mentioned earlier in the condemnations at Paris, that the division between tradition and innovation was sharpest.

So far as grace was concerned,¹ Ockham and his disciples employed God's " *potentia absoluta* " to dispense man from the need for the supernaturally infused habit of charity in order to act meritoriously and avoid sin. Instead God, if He so willed, could accept the action of free will in its own right and reward it with merit. By this means the Ockhamists enabled free will to become the main agent in a meritorious act and relegated grace to a secondary cause which God, in acting directly, could by-pass.

Thus, while dogmatically it was true that all men since the fall were in a state of original sin, incapable of doing good or of following God's precepts by their own powers, God could dispense with the intermediary forms of grace, if He so willed. By God's direct intervention a man could reach Him unaided, could be born free from original sin, follow His precepts, and win eternal glory. In Ockham's words : " Nothing is meritorious unless it is voluntary, that is, freely elicited and freely carried out, for nothing is meritorious unless it is in us and in our power. But nothing is in our power of acting or not acting

¹ See *Bradwardine and the Pelagians*, part ii, *passim*.

unless this comes from the will as the principal mover, and not from a habit." ¹

That some did not stop there we have already noticed in the condemnation of John de Mirecourt and the conclusions of Adam of Woodham. In the process man, no less than God, became transformed. Indeed the unorthodoxy of fourteenth-century thinking is nowhere more apparent than in the swing from straightforward dogma towards the ideal and abstract in regard to both God and His creatures. Just as God could have created a different world or have decreed a different order of salvation so could man have enjoyed a different condition, endowed with powers to accomplish alone that for which a supernatural aid was at present required. It has been in response to this attitude of Ockham and his followers that Bradwardine fashioned his system. He did so equally in speculative, or at least non-dogmatic, terms by trying to establish that it was inherently impossible for man ever to attain to a modicum of autonomy or to do good of his own resources.² Bradwardine matched Ockham's emphasis upon man as he could be by insisting that he could never be other than he was, fallen and weak; each, from opposite poles, tended to discount the fall.

With Gregory of Rimini, on the other hand, God's " *potentia absoluta* " served merely to emphasize, firstly, God's independence of created habits in deciding whether to reward or punish a man, so that in the last analysis it rested with God's will, and not with the presence or absence of grace, to determine a man's destiny; and, secondly, the inherent contingency of all created forms, so that if God should so choose he could supersede the habit of grace and do directly that which He had done through grace. The result is that with Gregory we find a full-fledged recapitulation of St. Augustine's doctrine of grace, reinforced through God's " *potentia absoluta* " against any form of natural determinism.³ It is striking testimony to the changed climate

¹ Art. I of 51 Articles of William of Ockham condemned at Avignon in 1326. See A. Pelzer, " Les 51 Articles de Guillaume d'Occam censurés en Avignon en 1326 " in *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, xviii (1922), 240-71.

² See *Bradwardine and the Pelagians*, *passim*.

³ *Sentences*, i, d. 17, q. 1. I have discussed the topic fully in my forthcoming study on Gregory.

of thought that the traditional concepts needed reinforcement by such novel means.

The change is, if anything, more apparent in the discussion over the problem of future contingents : that is, whether God's foreknowledge conflicted with the freedom of free will. As I have suggested elsewhere ¹, it involved nothing less than the certainty of revelation ; for if the future was undetermined, how could God foresee it ? and how then could revelation be any less contingent than the actions it foretold ? The dispute accordingly resolved itself into an issue between either curtailing God's foreknowledge to what alone was determined, or subjecting it to the hazards governing all undetermined knowledge. The first alternative, taken by Holcot, ² safeguarded the infallibility of God's knowledge at the expense of His omniscience ; the second, followed by Buckingham ³ and Woodham, ⁴ affirmed God's omniscience at the cost of its infallibility : hence the possibility that He could mislead and that Christ and the Apostles could be misled. In both cases the freedom of free will was made the first consideration at the expense of both God's attributes and revealed truth. Small wonder that Bradwardine's *De Causa Dei* was virtually a reassertion of dogmatic first principles and directed expressly to vindicating the traditional teachings on both grace and future contingents. Its very extremism was a measure of the extremism of his opponents ; and, appearing as it did in 1344, ⁵ it came virtually in the middle of the counter-attack against Ockhamism. The atmosphere thus engendered was one of condemnation and heterodoxy ; the word Pelagian ⁶ once more became common currency ; and it is hard to know what the outcome would have been had not the Black Death of 1348-50 supervened, carrying off the greater part of Ockham's generation, Bradwardine included.

¹ *Bradwardine and the Pelagians*, especially chs. vi, viii, ix.

² *Sentences*, bk. ii, q. 3.

³ *Sentences*, q. 3.

⁴ *Sentences*, bk. iii, q. 2 and 3.

⁵ For a discussion in favour of this date see *Bradwardine and the Pelagians*, Appendix I.

⁶ E.g. *De Causa Dei contra Pelagium*, and the first four of the 51 Articles of Ockham, condemned at Avignon, and Gregory of Rimini's *Sentences*.

III

When we turn to natural order, we find a similar state of indeterminacy. Once again the cause lay in the contingency of all creation. Since this applied to man as much as to any other creature, human knowledge, as that of a contingent being, was correspondingly circumscribed by the contingent ; it lacked any transcendental application from which meaningful universal laws could be derived because it was as transient and conditional as the flux from which it sprang. Duns Scotus had been one of the first, if not the first, to urge such an argument against Aquinas's proofs for the existence of God ; movement, cause and effect were the categories of this physical finite world and as such could have no bearing upon God. But it was above all with Ockham and his contemporaries in the succeeding generation that the scope of reason became firmly bounded by natural experience. The theory of knowledge associated with Ockham, and misleadingly called Nominalism¹, was essentially a corrective to the luxuriance of concepts which had grown up during the preceding centuries. It was especially directed against the proliferation of categories—genus, species, universal, form, substance, relation, essence—into self-subsisting entities, so that they came to be regarded as the ultimate reality and the individual physical objects of this world merely their manifestations. Particularly among the Augustinians attention was diverted away from the validity of everyday sensory experience, and truth was regarded as the property of the extra-sensory idea, or concept, residing in the soul. Even the return, with St. Thomas Aquinas, to the categories taken from this world had not fundamentally shifted the emphasis ; for he, no less than his opponents, sought for universal truths in the essences which the mind recognized in and abstracted from the individuals given to the senses ; thus Socrates and Plato embodied man the species and it was this which ultimately

¹ I have already in *Bradwardine and the Pelagians*, ch. ix, given my reasons for the inappropriateness of the term, namely, that it suggests an artificial continuity with the disputes of the twelfth century ; and that it ignores the wider issues in which Ockham's emphasis upon the verbal nature of our concepts was only an element. These wider issues are, in my opinion, to be found among those under discussion here.

enabled us to know that they were human beings. Where St. Thomas differed was in his realization that the universal could only be reached through first encountering the individual. Such a view still equated ultimate reality with the "*cognitio rei universalis*," as Gregory of Rimini and others of his contemporaries saw.

The innovation made by Ockham and his confrères lay not so much in their introduction of new categories as their rejection of the old. Indeed even in his division of simple knowledge into immediate intuitive perception of an object (*cognitio intuitiva*) and abstractive knowledge (*cognitio abstractiva*) and his use of terms (*suppositiones*), Ockham¹ was but following an already established classification. Where, however, he and his contemporaries broke with the past was in their relegation of all categories to the mental order; far from expressing an independent, and indeed, ultimate, reality, they were constructions of the mind. They had no correspondence to external being and could not be considered as constituting an independent order of existence. Instead the individual was alone considered to be real: a man, not man, beings not being, were the true constituents of reality; for these alone existed independently of the mind and could be perceived as such.

How widespread such views were can be seen from the Commentaries on the *Sentences* of the time, which, when they do not explicitly reject the independent existence of universals and essences, as with Durandas of St. Pourçain, Pierre Aureole, Ockham and Gregory of Rimini, become mere skeletons of the classical commentaries; they frequently comprised no more than six or a dozen questions, as opposed to something like 500 in the original *Book of Sentences*,² just because the area of meaningful discussion has been narrowed. If reason could not operate beyond the terrain of natural experience there could be little point in trying to prove the existence of God or the finite nature of the world. In consequence scholasticism became transformed.

In the first place, what may be called strict empiricism at the natural level became something akin to scepticism when

¹ *Commentary on Sentences*, Prologue, q. 4.

² As for example with those of Robert Holcot, Robert Halifax, Thomas Buckingham, Adam of Woodham.

applied to faith and metaphysics in general ; so soon as there was a refusal to take reason beyond the limits of verifiable experience there could be no valid means of discussing let alone demonstrating their truths. The latter at best became the province of faith, to be accepted as a matter of belief ; to make them the object of rational consideration was to leave them without tangible support and so at the mercy of uncertainty and speculation. Hence by natural experience there was no more reason for supposing the existence of God than His non-existence or supposing that there was one God ; or that the world was finite rather than infinite ; or that man always had need of grace.¹ In every case reason was powerless to decide. It could be, and indeed was, argued that the opposite was the case ; and so we find the discussion marked by such formulae as *non asserendo sed disputando* and the distinction between speaking *a ratione* and *a fide*. What, therefore, was for the natural world a confession of ignorance became an attitude of scepticism when applied to matters of faith, for it doubted by reason what is certain by belief. Hence, in spite of strong tendencies to the contrary, it seems undeniable that Ockhamism engendered an atmosphere of scepticism towards faith, as we have already observed.

It became common to distinguish not merely universals and essences from individuals, but also verbal expressions as well ; so that God or creature, on analysis, were shown not to refer to anything verifiable but to connote a way of describing a concept—such as, say, the supreme being.² This approach was especially associated with Gregory of Rimini who designated it the *complexe significabile* to distinguish it from a *simplex* which denoted a real thing. Thus while ‘man’ denoted an individual (*simplex*), ‘rational being’ was a statement (*complexe*) about a man which did not directly correspond to any specific being. Yet as we have already observed, Gregory was perhaps the most traditionalist of all the earlier fourteenth-century thinkers ; and in his hands this was in no way designed to undermine belief in God. For such men as he, the most usual course was simply to show

¹ Examples once again taken from Gregory of Rimini.

² This device was one of the targets for the Pope’s letter mentioned in p. 357, n. 1. “ that Socrates and Plato, God and creatures, were nothing ”, loc. cit.

that God's existence could not be proved rather than to discuss possible arguments to show that there was no God.

The effect, then, of the sovereignty of individual knowledge was the jettisoning of any attempt at a natural theology; for, in a contingent universe, there could be no bridge between the possible and the necessary. Accordingly the truths of revelation could but rest on faith alone. Such an attitude infected the orthodox as well as the heterodox, and its prevalence, as we shall mention shortly, meant the virtual rejection of the traditional uses of theology.

In the second place, no less far-reaching were the effects of such an outlook upon the created world. Just as revelation had to withdraw from reason's purview so, as we have said, did metaphysics. As a consequence, the conception of the nature of the universe underwent a radical change; and it is here if anywhere that fourteenth-century thinking is at its most formative and exciting. It led to what may not unjustly be termed a new cosmology. For the first time we are able to see something like the emergence of a genuine scientific attitude through the growing tendency to replace the older *a priori* conception of the universe, as the reflection of God's workings, by the new predominantly empirical view which treated it largely in its own terms. While in principle both thirteenth- and fourteenth-century thinkers held to God's will as the final arbiter, the latter no longer saw its operation in terms of eternal laws; far from being God's final dispensation its characteristic was, as we have seen, its contingency and liability to change. As such, Aristotle's cosmology became their main target. In rejecting all necessity in the universe they also rejected Aristotle's all-embracing world view of first and final causes by which everything could be traced from its origin to its end. In its place, in keeping with their view of knowledge, came a world of discrete individuals. These became the measure of all things, to be taken in themselves and not as the expression of higher universal truths. Far from being the embodiment of immaterial essences, *they* constituted reality. Accordingly knowledge of them was not to be sought through an extrapolation of their qualities but in their own palpable properties as physical beings: extension, mass, movement,

relation and so on were their attributes, inseparable from them. Correspondingly, the universal, genus, essence, and disembodied form, for so long the objects of attention, were displaced : literally displaced from the status of self-subsisting entities—albeit non-material—to mere mental figments, which, when not regarded as without meaning, were certainly without relevance to the physical world.

Consequently, as a macrocosm the universe lost its definition : it could not be held to be finite or eternal for, on the one hand, by God's will it could be otherwise ; and, on the other, knowledge did not extend to experience of such notions. As a microcosm, however, knowledge of it became ever more precise ; and here we might speak of a rehabilitation of Aristotle more complete than at any previous time in the middle ages ; for with the emphasis upon individual experience, verification, observation, and measurement now became the main sinews of practical knowledge ; and where did men look for such if not to the Stagirite ? Thus Aristotle, while his notions of the nature of the universe were either disregarded or opposed, was ever to hand in the discussion of physical and mechanical problems like remission and intensification of forms, condensation, rarefaction, movement, and so on. Concurrently, forms become translated into physical terms ; no longer regarded in their own right they became the constituents of being, to be examined in relation to particular topics, such as those just mentioned. In that way their extra-sensory and metaphysical nature was displaced by that of physics. Similarly, with categories, such as number, movement, time, place, situation and so on. They were no longer to be treated in their own right, but as aspects of specific beings in particular relations or groupings : that is, as specific conditions of existence ; and the burning questions became those concerned with them.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize the radically changed outlook on the universe which resulted. It shook the entire foundations of the medieval view both as to what could be known and what was known. The novelty lay not so much in the introduction of new laws and techniques as in reinterpreting the existing concepts or putting them into abeyance. Thus, though in terms of scientific advance Ockham's conception of movement differed

little from that of his thirteenth-century predecessors,¹ his denial that it, together with other categories, was a self-subsisting essence was little short of revolutionary. The whole notion of proving the existence of God through an order of interacting causes fell to the ground; similarly, the notion of goodness. If these were to be regarded as merely mental constructions, offering no correspondence to reality, what became of such time-honoured paths to God as the idea of the "summum bonum" and the "primum movens immobile"? They no longer served to demonstrate Him.² Once again thinkers as different as Gregory of Rimini and Ockham were united in refusing to attempt to do so, expressly on the grounds that terms like "causality" and "eternity" in no way implied a first cause or a necessary being. Consequently, the fixed and ordered hierarchy of spheres and beings, the constancy in the operation of God's laws, the unchanging and unchangeable nature of existence and its relation to God, were all thrown into question.

IV

This brings us, lastly, to the corresponding transformation of theology which such an attitude entailed. At first sight one of the seeming paradoxes of the earlier fourteenth century is the reversion of theology from being a "scientia" to its ancient non-scientific status. Most of the leading thinkers from Henry of Ghent, Godfrey of Fontaines and Duns Scotus to Ockham, Bradwardine and Gregory of Rimini, differently though they did so, joined in returning to the older view of theology as the preserve of scriptural truth, concerned with elucidating the articles of faith and fortifying its adherents. It was practical rather than speculative, to glorify God rather than to comprehend Him. On closer consideration, however, we can see how inseparable this view was from the new outlook generally; far from being an aberrant, the renewed emphasis upon the exclusive, self-contained nature of theology was its concomitant. The overriding contingency of creation, with the consequent unknowability of God and all that was outside practical experience, cut the ties between

¹ See A. Maier, especially *Die Vorläufer Gallileis*, (Rome, 1949).

² E.g. Gregory of Rimini, *Sentences*, i, d. 3, q. 9, a. 1.

theology and knowledge. As deriving from God's word, theology dealt with truths inaccessible to human experience. Even where it was held that God's existence was amenable to proof, as with Henry of Ghent, Duns Scotus and Bradwardine, theology became increasingly confined to the articles of faith, so that although God could be shown to be the first cause or "*ens infinitum*", His enactments yet remained the property of revelation, given only to those who believed. Ultimately, the difference between the age of St. Thomas Aquinas and that of Duns Scotus and Ockham lay less in the possibility or otherwise of deducing God's being than in attributing a definable course of actions to Him. For the majority of fourteenth-century thinkers God's existence was taken for granted, even when the proofs for it were withheld; yet there still remained no ascertainable relation between the divine and the created. Indeed, as we have observed, the entire source of indeterminacy lay with God; it was not that His existence was not to be invoked, but on the contrary its very invocation acted as a solvent of the created order. It therefore destroyed the foundations of a natural theology and a theology founded upon knowledge.

In these conditions theology could have no place as an object of independent, rational enquiry: it dealt in eternal truths where practical knowledge was bounded by contingency; it gave certainty of belief where knowledge was confronted with unknowability. Where theology enshrined God's decrees, natural knowledge could only express His power to override them. Hence not only God, but the other traditional topics of the "*Commentary on the Sentences*," Christ, creation, the sacraments, came no longer within reason's purview. From the days of Henry of Ghent and Duns Scotus the question "*Whether theology is knowledge*" came to be answered in the negative. Its truths could not, as many thirteenth-century thinkers had held, be seized directly or by a process of reasoning. Instead there was a common return to the older view of theology as the preserve of the believer; but with an added emphasis upon its exclusiveness. Far from its having a proselytizing rôle, or even an apologetic one, as was the case with some of the greatest works of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, it acted as a barrier which reason, and thereby the infidel,

could not cross.¹ We could have no clearer evidence of how completely belief and knowledge had become divorced and how completely the foundations of scholasticism had been sapped.

V

The pattern, then, that emerges from this discussion is of a radical break with the immediate past, both in tone and in topics. Not only are terms like Nominalism and Realism inapposite, but so also is the division of the thinkers of the time into "moderni" and "antiqui". Thomas Bradwardine and Gregory of Rimini, no less than William of Ockham and Robert Holcot, were operating on different territory from that of their predecessors; even when the former were in greatest opposition to the innovations of the latter, they could still not think in purely traditional terms. However strongly they drew upon tradition they were dealing with an untraditional situation. Thus Bradwardine enunciated a doctrine which, in attempting to reassert the primacy of God's will, left virtually nothing to man's own resources; he regarded him as so worthless that he in effect disregarded the distinction between fallen man and man in original righteousness. The very extremity of these views removed him far from the principles he was defending. Gregory, for his part, though in all essentials true to the doctrines of St. Augustine, still bore the imprint of his age, in his logic, his epistemology, his cosmology, his frequent use of God's "potentia absoluta" and in his emphasis on the fundamental contingency of all creation. Neither thinker could have belonged to the pre-Scotist era any more than the Ockhamists could have done. In this sense all the leading thinkers of the fourteenth century were "moderni" by virtue of their circumstances. Conservatives no less than radicals combined to give a new turn to the discussion, and one which meant a break with traditional modes of thinking and with it the break-up of scholasticism.

¹ This was expressly stated by Gregory of Rimini, *Commentary on the Sentences*, Prologue q. 1; see my article "Faith and Reason in the thought of Gregory of Rimini, c. 1300-1358" in *BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY*, xlii (September 1959), 88-112.

MYTH AND RITUAL IN EARLY GREECE

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THE words Myth and Ritual taken by themselves include practically the whole of the activities that we call religious ; but in the decade before the second World War there came into prominence a school of interpreters of ancient religious belief which gave to the phrase Myth and Ritual a particular significance, namely, the existence in all early religious symbolism of a divine kingship, a sacred marriage, a combat between the king and the forces of evil, a death and resurrection of the divine king and a typifying by his myth of the death and rebirth of the seasons and crops. A predominant element in all religious myth is thus seen to be the securing by ritual of the means of subsistence, the regular cycle of the seasons and the return of life to the dead earth. This theory obviously owes much to the material collected by Sir James Frazer, and particularly to *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, published in 1906 ; and of course it also owes much to the work of people like Jane Harrison and Gilbert Murray who in books such as *Prolegomena* (1903) and *Five Stages of Greek Religion* (1912) ¹ examined early religious beliefs with the theory in their minds that in most myths could be detected a “ year *δαίμων* ”, and, as some now think, overstated their case. The work of scholars such as Cumont, Wendland and Reitzenstein ² in showing the affinity of Christianity to the saviour religions of the Near East must also have created an expectancy of finding these elements universally.

The popularization of the “ Myth and Ritual ” theory of religious interpretation is, however, due in the main to the work of S. H. Hooke and his followers who were particularly anxious

¹ This work, originally delivered as lectures in 1912, first appeared as *Four Stages of Greek Religion*.

² See, for example, Cumont, *Les Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain* (Paris, 1906) ; P. Wendland, *Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur* (Tübingen, 1912) ; Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* (Leipzig, 1910) ; Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Leipzig, 1903).

to save Christianity for themselves by showing that its central doctrines were fundamental to a good deal of existing religious belief and that its historical claims could be accepted as a unique example of the heightening and tension integral to all religions.¹ In two volumes of essays, *Myth and Ritual*, published in 1933, and *The Labyrinth*, published in 1935, the "Myth and Ritual" theory is applied, first to the religions of Egypt, Babylon and Palestine and then to the later religious developments of the Near East, and an attempt is made, with only partial success, to show its profound influence on the history of civilization.

The purpose of this essay is to examine what evidence, if any, is provided by the literature and beliefs of early Greece for the myth of a sacral kingship, a ritual combat, a sacred marriage and a ritual death and rebirth. In all hitherto-published works on Myth and Ritual Greek myth is either treated superficially² or interpreted with absurd eccentricity as in Lord Raglan's book *The Hero* (London, 1936), the whimsical interpretations in which were largely responsible for my own essay, since I had to dispel for myself the mental fog in which the book left me; but of this more later.

Professor Hooke and his school see, or saw, in religious texts the myth which accompanied the ritual enactment of the sacred combat and marriage, and some of his disciples see in what appear to be manifestly secular poems and songs nothing more than a spoken myth which accompanied a ritual. The curious thing is that although many scholars gave general assent to this theory, they have almost with one voice found its particular application unsatisfactory. Professor Brandon has dealt effectively with the theory as applied to Egypt,³ Professor Fish sees no justification

¹ I leave undiscussed the question whether, even had they established their thesis, Professor Hooke and his school could be said to have enhanced the claims of Christianity.

² See, for example, E. O. James's *Myth and Ritual in the Ancient Near East* (London, 1958), which says nothing of the Athenian *archon basileus*, nothing of the *pharmakos* or scapegoat and of many other elements.

³ In a further symposium entitled *Myth, Ritual and Kingship* (1958), pp. 261 ff. It must be noted that in this symposium Professor Hooke reaffirms the claims of the Myth and Ritual school, though other contributors are guarded in their adherence to it, while at the same time reaffirming its great influence on religious thought.

whatsoever for applying it to Babylonian religious texts,¹ and these two religions were originally the principal witnesses for the theory. As we shall see, the close examination of the Greek evidence also raises grave doubts. In fact, the Myth and Ritual School could now almost be said to be in decline, were it not that new books have appeared in which the original scope of the term Myth and Ritual has been widened to include practically all ritual *mimesis*, and its origins have been traced back to Palaeolithic cave art; and incidentally the originally sharp outlines of the theory have been blurred, until what we now see is a series of disquisitions with much material but few conclusions, on some common elements of primitive religious belief. Notable here are the works of Professor E. O. James, of which the most recent are *Myth and Ritual in the Ancient Near East* (1958) and *The Ancient Gods* (1960). Before narrowing our attention to the specifically Greek evidence it is relevant to see briefly on what lines the investigation has run in other religions.

In the widest sense all art is *mimesis*, imitation; when one makes toy soldiers a Greek would say that he "imitated soldiers with tin"²; so that Homer and Virgil and Ovid and Shakespeare are practising *mimesis*, and it becomes easier to maintain that their writings are particular examples of the myth that accompanies a ritual. This is really a false aetiology: all art is *mimesis*, but not of the special kind which the "Myth and Ritual" school need to support their theory.

Professor James takes us back to the caves of Lascaux, Altamira and Les Trois-Frères, and sees in the wonderful cave-paintings of the Old Stone Age the foreshadowing of the ritual themes of later times; the ritual control of the chase, increase rites, the mimetic sacred dance, the funerary ritual, the vegetation cultus.³ It is true that much cave art from all over the world seems to have significant features in common: the representations of the hunt, with the actual killing of the animal, the lifelike drawings of the animals themselves, the scenes of war and sex and

¹ Professor Fish expressed his views in a paper read to a seminar in the University of Manchester some years ago.

² I owe this idea to a brilliant essay by Gilbert Murray on *Poesis and Mimesis*, reprinted in his *Essays and Addresses* (London, 1921), pp. 107-24.

³ E. O. James, *Myth and Ritual in the Ancient Near East*, pp. 21-37.

death ; the strange way in which these drawings were reproduced in the inmost recesses of caves, sometimes as much as half a mile from daylight, which suggests that they were part of a secret cult, particularly as some of them appear near to ledges and tunnels quite out of reach of the floor, and only accessible by devious passages ; and the equally strange way in which some pictures are a kind of palimpsest, with two or three figures superimposed when there is plenty of available wall space, as if one particular spot had a special importance. Recent investigations in North Africa, East Africa, South Africa and India have shown how many of these features are common to all cave art. The witch-doctor or sorcerer—the man disguised as an animal—is also found in many places, a most pronounced and suggestive example of *mimesis*, and even the styles are consistent : there is, for example, a kind of drawing which reduces men and animals to elongated sticks, and this is found in Europe, Africa and India.¹

The theory is that the chase, the marriage, the killing, the birth, were all enacted in mime before the actual incident took place, a ritual seen so commonly in rites for fertility, rain-increase and the like and which forms a part of so many children's games. This theory has been abundantly argued and demonstrated, but already in the Palaeolithic period we are confronted with mysteries which we cannot wholly explain, and this sense of bafflement will, or should, persist when we are dealing with material which is relatively of yesterday, i.e. within the compass of recorded history. We cannot be sure that we know the purpose of any of the

¹ From a voluminous literature on cave art the following seem to cover most of the ground : The Abbé Breuil, *Quatre cents siècles d'art pariétal* (Montaiguac, 1952) ; H. Alimen, *The Prehistory of Africa* (London, 1957), pp. 352-98 ; D. H. Gordon, *The Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture* (Bombay, 1958), pp. 98-117 ; H. Kuhn, *The Rock Pictures of Europe* (London, 1956). There is useful material in three recent Pelican books : C. B. M. McBurney, *The Stone Age of Northern Africa* (1960), pp. 258-71 ; Sonia Cole, *The Prehistory of East Africa* (1954), pp. 247-70 ; and Desmond Clark, *The Prehistory of Southern Africa* (1959), pp. 253-80. M. C. Burkitt in *The Old Stone Age* (3rd edn., London, 1955), pp. 178-232, was among the first to examine the whole question of Palaeolithic cave art, and Professor S. G. F. Brandon has recently published an illuminating study of what he calls " the ritual perpetuation of the past " in which he traces most, if not all, man's religious activities to the preoccupation with death ; he deals at length with the question of the well-known Sorcerer of Les Trois-Frères (*Numen*, vol. vi., fasc. 2, Dec. 1959, pp. 112-29).

cave-paintings, and although it is very naïve to assume that Stone Age man whiled away the long dark evenings by drawing bison and rhinoceros, it is humourless to see in every drawing evidence of a cult, so that a man throwing a spear is made to have a dim and esoteric significance. The trouble here as everywhere is that professors cannot help riding their theories to death.

Moving swiftly down the ages, the next cultures to occupy the attention of Professor James¹ are the village settlements in Baluchistan and Iran which preceded the city-civilization of Mohenjo-daro and Harappā, and whose pottery has been so exhaustively discussed by Stuart Piggott, their dates being roughly in the end of the fourth millennium B.C. and the beginning of the third. Here there is insufficient evidence on which to base a theory. In the Zhob valley in particular in northern Baluchistan there have been found female figurines with holes for eyes and a generally terrifying appearance in spite of their small size of a few inches, and these, says Professor Piggott, were probably images of the dread goddess of death and rebirth—in fact one might say Persephone in her earliest known guise. Again, in the Kulli culture of southern Baluchistan we find, as in Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Egypt and elsewhere, figurines with exaggerated breasts and bodies, sometimes in association with objects thought to be *phalli*, and on occasion bearing traces of red paint, which was used on statues to enhance life-giving powers in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Malta. If, as is becoming a widespread belief, civilization as we know it originally sprang from Iran or near it, these village-cultures are of great importance for the primitive forms of religious belief and ceremony; but being prehistoric they cannot help us much. If every long and narrow stone that has been identified as a phallus were really a phallus, then every mountainside would give evidence of Priapean orgies.

When we reach the city-civilizations of Harappā and Mohenjo-daro, there seems at first sight much more evidence for a priest-kingship with its accompanying rites and ceremonies. These twin cities bore many points of resemblance to the cities of Sumeria and Egypt; in all three countries the dominant feature

¹ E. O. James, op. cit. pp. 132 ff.; Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India* (London, 1950), pp. 66-131.

of the landscape was a great river or rivers, which in all three countries irrigated an arid desert. The two great Indus cities are dominated by great citadels, where Marshall, Mackay, Wheeler and others have shown the great baths, the colleges of priests, the signs of serfdom of the masses and many other features denoting the absolute mastery of the priesthood. Unfortunately no one has deciphered the Indus script, although we have several thousand seals on which its four hundred or so characters are clearly stamped. Many of these scenes could plausibly be argued to show sacrifice of animals or even human beings at some ceremony, and we can see what seem to be traces of a scapegoat-ritual¹; but there are several features of the Indus seals which defy explanation, as for instance the sacred brazier or manger which appears on so many of them, and here again the only possible attitude is one of qualified scepticism.

While still in India let us look for a moment at the Vedas and at Brahmanic ritual, since here at last our evidence is literary and we have texts to deal with. To what extent are the Vedic hymns texts to accompany a ritual? The obvious answer is, to a very great extent indeed, but of the myth we are looking for there is very little evidence among the Brahmins. Their myths were originally personifications of natural forces, the fire, the storm-cloud, the heavens, the lightning, the sun. There is an almost Milesian ring about some of the earlier Vedic speculations, as for example in *Rig Veda*, x. 129:

Nor Aught nor Naught existed, yon bright sky
Was not, nor heaven's broad roof outstretched above.
What covered all? What sheltered? What concealed?
Was it the water's fathomless abyss?

There was not death—yet was there naught immortal,
There was no confine betwixt day and night;
The only One breathed breathless by Itself,
Other than It there nothing since has been.

¹ See R. E. M. Wheeler, *The Indus Age* (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 82 ff., and D. H. Gordon, *op. cit.* pp. 57-76. James, *op. cit.* pp. 106-7, has really very little to contribute on this point except to stress the importance attached to ritual bathing at Mohenjo-daro, and the frequent occurrence of figurines akin to those of Kulli and the Zhob valley.

Darkness there was, and all at first was veiled
 In gloom profound—an ocean without light—
 The germ that still lay covered in the husk
 Burst forth, one nature, from the fervent heat.

Who knows the secret? Who proclaimed it here?
 Whence, whence this manifold creation sprang?
 The gods themselves came later into being—
 Who knows from whence this great creation sprang?

He, from whom all this great creation came,
 Whether His will created was or mute,
 The Most High Seer that is in highest heaven,
 He knows it—or perchance even He knows not.¹

The Brahmanic priesthood is probably a more or less faithful reflection of the priesthood in the Indus cities, where the priest was himself a kind of king and mediated with the gods on behalf of the people. The Brahmins themselves always retained something of this mysterious power, and although for some time after north-west India had succumbed to the Aryan invaders the king, the warrior, *kshatriya*, took precedence over the priest, by the time the Brahmanas, the prose commentaries on the Vedic hymns, were composed, the Brahmins had re-established their supremacy as the power behind the throne, since they had succeeded in persuading the kings that nothing, not even the rising daily of the sun, could take place without an elaborate and lengthy ritual, the proper performance of which was possible only to the Brahmins themselves. In the coronation ceremony of the ancient Indian kings we find of course much symbolism: lustrations, sacrifices, a token cattle-raid, a stepping in the direction of the cardinal points, the throwing of dice and so on; and of course the king is the patron and father of his people, responsible for moral as well as social law. But much of this must have been a perfunctory conformity with tradition, since it was the Brahmins themselves who held all spiritual power and whose incantations made the world go round. Again, the horse-sacrifice, by which a horse is turned loose and the king claims all the ground covered by it, has faint resemblances, in the actual turning-loose, to scapegoat-ritual, but nothing more. Of the sacred marriage, of the death and

¹ Trans. Max Müller.

rebirth of the king-god and of the other central features of "myth and ritual" as it is professedly found elsewhere, there is not a trace. Nor are the Vedic hymns themselves at all like "myth and ritual" texts.¹ Some of them much resemble, in length and even in sentiment, hymns in the Ancient and Modern collection. Finally, the whole tendency of Upanishadic interpretation of Vedic hymns was latent from the start in the hymns themselves. They imply a much more abstract and philosophical approach to the deity than that of sympathetic magic.

Turning now to the proteptic ritual of the Near East, the king was here represented as himself divine or given divine status as champion and representative of the people, though it is impossible to get a clear picture how in the myth the human king merges into the divine figure or the god descends to become the human king. The details vary in different cults and the texts themselves are of a varying state of completeness, coherence and intelligibility. The texts which we have are the words or story of the king-god or hero, recited periodically as an accompaniment to the ritual, which is held to be a re-enactment of the combat of the hero-king with the personified forces of darkness and evil, his death and resurrection.

It is important here to stress again that this is a theory imposed on the facts, not the facts themselves. Admittedly, like Lyell's geological theories and Darwin's *Descent of Man*, it has thrown much light on all kinds of obscure points; but, as we shall see, the thoroughgoing application of the theory has its dangers.

In early Egypt the general picture seemed fairly clear, though the texts are obscure and often fragmentary. Hooke listed the essential features of the annual festival which was observed to symbolize the death and rebirth of the year as follows:²

- (1) The dramatic representation of the death and resurrection of the god.
- (2) The recitation or symbolic representation of the myth of creation.

¹ "The *Rigveda* is much more than an adjunct to ritual. It might be called a literary anthology, drawn from family traditions. The religious expressions found in it are poetic exordia to the cult and are not designed as the direct accompaniment of ceremonies" (L. Renou, *The Religions of Ancient India* (London, 1953), p. 10).

² S. H. Hooke, *Myth and Ritual*, p. 8.

(3) The ritual combat, in which the triumph of the god over his enemies was depicted.

(4) The sacred marriage.

(5) The triumphal procession, in which the king played the part of the god followed by a train of lesser gods or visiting deities.

All these elements are to be found in Egypt, where the earliest mythology bears in certain details a striking resemblance to that of Greece.¹ We find the emergence of the sun-god from the primeval waters, the creation of the god of the atmosphere and the goddess of moisture, who in turn create the earth-god and the sky-goddess,² and the emergence of their offspring, Osiris, Isis, Seth and Nephthys. Osiris weds Isis but is ousted from the throne of Egypt by Seth and killed; later he is miraculously brought to life and Isis bears him a son Horus, who in combat with Seth emasculates him just as Zeus emasculates his father Cronos. Some features of this story, notably the incestuous union of Osiris and Isis and the preoccupation with virility and its symbols, are of course common to a number of ancient myths. So far as can be discovered, Horus is identified in pre-dynastic Egypt with the reigning monarch of Heliopolis who is also the high priest of Osiris, and every year in the spring month of Khoiak a most elaborate festival was held in which an effigy of Osiris was ritually buried in a funerary chamber and sprinkled with water, barley and sand, after which various weird and intricate ceremonies took place to symbolize the revivification of the god. This indeed seems a drastic over-simplification of the ceremony, which seems to be a mingling of reminiscences of two if not three festivals, and is found only in texts in which even the sequence of scenes is in dispute.³ In fact, a reading of the literature of the subject leaves one with a feeling of utter bewilderment that any sense whatever can be made out of the apparently nonsensical beliefs implied in the rites and ceremonies of early Egypt, and that we really understand little more about them than did Plutarch or Herodotus. So ardent an Egyptologist

¹ A. M. Blackman, *Myth and Ritual in Ancient Egypt*, in S. H. Hooke, op. cit. pp. 15-39; and authorities there cited.

² Cf. *Iliad*, xiv. 201, 246; Hesiod, *Theogony*, 155, 176, 337 ff.

³ See H. W. Fairman, "The Kingship Rituals of Egypt", in *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, p. 83.

as S. G. F. Brandon challenges the whole conception of Osiris as a yearly champion of good against evil or a yearly fighter on behalf of the crops. He draws attention to the striking fact that the Egyptian mind was directed towards death and the life after death and that its mythology was all oriented in this way.¹ This involves the whole question of diffusion *versus* evolution as the explanation of the widespread occurrence of Myth and Ritual themes in the Near East. To the evolutionists who claim that at a given stage in the evolution of an agricultural community these beliefs are bound to occur, he quotes the example of ancient China, where in a community based on agriculture and with the same dependence on the seasons that we find in Egypt, there is no trace of a sacred marriage or of a dying god or of a ritual combat.² If diffusion is the explanation, then it no longer seems clear, as it once did, that Egypt is the birthplace of these rites. Professor Blackman, for example, considered that the original myth and ritual pattern came, not from Egypt, but from Syria.³ Finally, Professor Brandon emphasizes that from earliest times Osiris was not primarily "a vegetation deity, with whose being the king was intimately associated and whose life-cycle constituted critical points in the course of the year; rather Osiris was the saviour to whom men and women turned for the assurance of immortality and before whom they believed that they would be judged in the next world."⁴

Babylonia provides us with another example of the kingly combat and the sacred marriage, and equal doubt attaches here too to the interpretation of the texts. There must have been a belief in prehistoric times that the king-god was responsible for the state of agricultural land and even for the regular recurrence of the seasons. The great festival was the New Year festival, at which the Creation Epic was twice recited, and the substance of the epic is Marduk's career and the annual triumph of order over Chaos. Marduk was a kind of year *δαίμων* and is identified with

¹ S. G. F. Brandon, "The Myth and Ritual Position Critically Considered" (*Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, pp. 265 ff.).

² *Op. cit.*, p. 273.

³ *Myth and Ritual*, p. 39.

⁴ *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, pp. 276-7, where Professor Brandon in a note adduces evidence from vignettes in *The Book of the Dead*.

the various heavenly bodies during the course of the year, but a feature of the myth that is conspicuously lacking is the sacred marriage. "Babylonian myths had a similar cycle for all kinds of year-gods ; that is why it can be argued that the Marduk myth as we know it was an adaptation of an earlier Enurta myth. Other gods had their New Year festivals, in which the ritual apparently resembled that of Babylon. It is to be presumed that the ritual of the bridal of Marduk and Sarpanitum was celebrated at the same time as a seasonal festival, the sacred marriage, elsewhere. Definite evidence that it was celebrated at the New Year festival is lacking, the best witness is the statement that implies a bridal after the festival." ¹

There is definite evidence for a sacred marriage, but it seems to have been connected with an autumn festival ; but the Babylonian calendar is imperfectly known, and the whole body of evidence about the myth and ritual of that country is an incomprehensible jumble to which we lack a large number of the most important clues. Professor Smith in the article just quoted sums up his conclusions as follows : "What can legitimately be regarded as established is that the marriage rite was a state institution, that kings in practice could not, during some periods, neglect it, and that it belonged to a ' pattern ', the sequence of festivals throughout a year." ² After some of the confident assertions previously made about myth and ritual in Babylonia, this is a very negative conclusion indeed.

The same caution prevails in the approach to the problem in the religion of the Hittites, in the Ras Shamra tablets and in the origins of Hebrew religion. O. R. Gurney and others see in the *purulli* festival at Nerik, with its ritual dragon-slaying, a weather-ritual very like that which can be surmised in Egypt and Babylonia, but we cannot really be sure at what season the Hittite New Year began ; and in any case the reconstruction and interpretation of parts of the Hittite texts is conjectural, while the texts themselves, particularly those relating to festival rituals, are fragmentary.³ The Ras Shamra tablets are even more conjectural

¹ Emeritus Professor S. Smith, "The Practice of Kingship in Early Semitic Kingdoms" in *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, p. 53.

² Op. cit. p. 71.

³ O. R. Gurney, "Hittite Kingship" in *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, pp. 107 ff.

in meaning, and R. de Langhe enters the same *caveat* as do Messrs. Brandon, Smith, Gurney and others on excessive theorizing.¹ Here, too, aesthetic considerations begin to creep in. De Langhe's sober scepticism of the theories of Gaster and Kapelrud is an excellent and most readable example of a sane and unbiased approach to a difficult text.²

In the realm of Hebrew religion, once again the enthusiasm of Engnell and Mowinckel and Haldar and others is toned down very drastically by scholars such as H. H. Rowley, who perceive the value of the Myth and Ritual theory in establishing the importance and status of the Israelitic king and the existence of traces of cultic hymns in the Psalter, but who cannot detect a true Myth and Ritual pattern in the Old Testament.³

We can now approach our Greek material knowing to some extent what we can expect. There should be a mass of evidence for the various constituents of the Myth and Ritual pattern—kingship, the sacred marriage, the combat with the forces of evil, the dying and rising of a god and so forth; this evidence should come from primitive strata of belief and should survive unexplained or drastically modified and occasionally uncritical application of the Myth and Ritual theory to writings which will not support that theory (this would happen, one supposes, in the mid-thirties, when the Myth and Ritual school was really getting under way); and we should expect to find that in spite of attempts to make all the evidence cohere in support of a theory, the facts simply will not fit in to the theory without jagged edges—there are either not enough pieces to complete the puzzle or there are some left over. And that is in fact what we do find.

In 1936 Lord Raglan published a book entitled *The Hero*, which surveyed Norse saga, English and Irish folklore, and Greek mythology in an attempt to prove that all were merely myths that accompanied a ritual drama of the expected kind. The oddities of the theory stand out most conspicuously in his treatment of the Homeric saga.⁴ Here we are expected to believe that Achilles and Hector never in fact existed, that the siege of

¹ R. de Langhe, "Myth, Ritual and Kingship in the Ras Shamra Tablets", in *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, pp. 130-1.

² *Op. cit.* pp. 122-48.

³ See H. H. Rowley in *MRK*, pp. 236-60.

⁴ Lord Raglan, *The Hero* (London, 1936), pp. 102 ff.

ritual texts take us back into a dim semi-articulate world, where formulae are repeated and incantations spelt out, where ugly proper names form the major content of many verses, where, in a word, no one ever seems to show any literary sensibility whatsoever. Contrast the *mleccha*-like grunts of a Ras-Shamra text with the rapidity, the nobility, the simplicity of any passage from the *Iliad*. The authorship of Homer remains an enigma, but on the evidence for design in both poems examined by Bowra, Nilsson, Schadewaldt, Focke and others ¹; from the fact that the *Odyssey* never overlaps the *Iliad*, though it fills several gaps in that story; that both poems show a narrative strategy unsurpassed in any literature, it seems that, whether or not the same person composed them, each was given its present form by a single person with all the resources of a professional bard at his finger-tips, and that the author of the *Odyssey* was intimately acquainted with the *Iliad*.

This point has not indeed been given its due weight by Homeric scholars from Wolf onwards: the art of selection, for instance, is well exemplified by the plot of the *Iliad*, which takes one single episode of the Trojan war, the wrath of Achilles over the stealing by Agamemnon of the slave-girl Briseis, and skilfully interweaves events so that the whole panorama of the long-drawn-out war is before us. Again, the poet's delight in his art, his love of storytelling for its own sake, come out in a score of places. Lord Raglan confessed that he could read little or no Greek, and implies that textual scholars, brought up on textual and linguistic training, utterly misunderstand the underlying meaning of Homer. And what of the opinions of a critic who cannot even read the language?

Even the Norse sagas, which with the Hindu epics form the nearest parallel to Homer, cannot compare with him in literary art; but there is an instructive parallel here, nevertheless. Both the Norse sagas and the Greek epics were in a sense a case of supply and demand. Both were based on lays written for declamation at the carousals of a warrior clan, with no more concern for myth and ritual than the man in the moon. In *Odyssey* viii,

¹ See Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad* (Oxford, 1930); Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae* (London, 1953); Schadewaldt, *Iliasstudien* (Liepzig, 1938); Focke, *Die Odyssee* (Stuttgart, 1943). The most recent study of the problem is by D. L. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley, California, 1959).

62 ff. we see an actual banquet portrayed for us, at which the blind bard is led in and placed on a seat of honour, where he proceeds to declaim the mighty deeds of the past—who can doubt the possibility that Homer had himself in mind? Everywhere the Aryan invaders went, from Troy to Mohenjo-daro, we see their brutal indifference to the cults and rites of the native population—*Semiseputla virum curvis feriuntur aratris Ossa* as Ovid says (*Heroides* i. 55-6).¹ They are utterly outside the influence of the nexus of Near-Eastern religions where alone we find evidence of a sacred kingship and the rest.

The serious and considered judgement of classical scholars, as of the Greeks themselves, has been that the *Iliad* is the epic of a distant campaign with at least a foundation in history; the exact period does not matter. Archaeology continues to justify this view; and Lord Raglan's dictum that no author of a cultic text was ever allowed to invent anything rather hamstrings him in seeking to trace the origins of the Trojan myth.

Why should we not assume that Agamemnon was king and leader of the Greek hosts, each of which comes with its prince, e.g. Achilles and Odysseus, to besiege Troy either because of the rape of some princess or just for the sake of war as the Norsemen invaded our shores? That after ten years of intermittent fighting, probably including long periods when nothing was happening, Troy was sacked and the conquerors returned home? Admittedly there are some queer features in the story, but are they made any less queer by treating the whole story as a fairy tale made up to accompany some rite? Or by seeing a sinister significance in certain items such as the frequent occurrence of the figure ten?

What objections does Lord Raglan put forward to the simple, straightforward interpretation of the story? Or rather, what are his main contentions on this whole question? He puts the case in its extreme form, whereas nearly all other writers on the subject of myth and ritual treat the Greek evidence as a weak link in a long chain. His views are to be found in chapters IX and XV of *The Hero*.

¹ Sir Mortimer Wheeler strongly believes that it was the Aryans who were responsible for the last massacre at Mohenjo-daro. See *The Indus Age*, p. 92; "On circumstantial evidence such as this, considered in the light of the chronology as now inferred, Indra stands accused."

battles, the exploits of Odysseus and Diomedes, and above all the slaying of Patroclus?

This is not to say that Homer does not obviously embody primitive tradition in which Myth and Ritual features may have been present. The sacral kingship is the most important element in the whole Myth and Ritual theory, and it can be argued very plausibly that the epic kings had to perform rituals, and had certain characteristics, which may be explained on the theory that they were originally king-gods, champions of the people. It is now certain that the Cretan Zeus, whose name was taken over by the Olympian supreme god, was actually a pre-Greek deity. Furumark argues that it was the Mycenaean Greeks who made the identification when they established themselves in Knossos in about 1475 B.C., and that they simply identified the Cretan supreme god with their own. He adds that the Palai-kastro hymn, which is a true ritual text, shows the μέγιστος κοῦρος to be an annually returning god who by his act of begetting brings fertility, prosperity, peace and justice, and is identified with the Cretan Zeus through his cult-myth. "Birth (the Divine Child motive), death (ridiculed by Callimachus), and resurrection (annual return) belong to the characteristics of this god."¹ Both Furumark and E. O. James see in the magnificence of the palace and of the Temple Tomb, the carved throne, the frescoes of griffins (the guardians of the gods), the sacred furnishings, strong evidence that the Minoan king was divine, and infer the rest of his functions as a ritual champion and promoter of fertility and the like.² Zeus was in the earliest myth miraculously born and has a body-guard or θίασος of dancers in which Jane Harrison saw evidence of an initiation rite.³ He kills his father Kronos and usurps his throne, but although at times in the *Iliad* he appears omnipotent, yet τύχη is stronger than he, and it may be that he originally maintained his power only by some ritual purification or atonement.⁴

¹ Furumark, "Was there a Sacral Kingship in Minoan Crete?" in *La Regalità Sacra*, a series of papers read at the 8th International Congress of the History of Religions, Rome, 1955 (Leiden, 1959), pp. 369-70.

² See E. O. James, *Myth and Ritual in the Ancient Near East*, pp. 101 ff.

³ Jane Harrison, *Themis* (Cambridge, 1912), pp. 1-29.

⁴ A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, vol. iii (Cambridge, 1940), collects a large amount of material, but his conclusions are not universally accepted.

Yet these scholars seem in their busy collection of odd ritual facts and bits of archaeological evidence to overlook entirely certain simple common-sense considerations which would instantly occur to a layman not weighed down with learning. What do we expect of a king, or what was the character of kingship in the ancient world? Some of the exponents of Myth and Ritual seem to think that the ritual came first and that the mysterious Melchizedek-like figures of kings came later and played the part assigned to them in the ritual. But it is in human nature to love power and to seek it by conquest and maintain it by cruelty. We do not need the bland sophistries of Herodotus ¹ to tell us that in the long run things tend to revert to dictatorship, and there was certainly nothing mythical or ritual about the atrocities committed by the Sultans of Delhi or by Adolf Hitler. Once an ancient despot was established on his throne it was natural that he should be regarded as divine: he was the embodiment of supreme power and simple minds would think he could command the weather as well; so he would find it convenient to accept worship as omnipotent and even to go through the motions of offering sacrifice for fertility and increase in order to keep his subjects contented. In this sense there may have been a sacral kingship in early Greece, but it has left very few influences of any note on the Greece of the classical period.

In this connection Professor H. J. Rose read an illuminating paper, full of healthy scepticism, to the International Congress for the History of Religions in Rome in 1955.² Archaeology, he says, gives us no warrant for seeing in the Minoan king any sort of ritual figure; all we know is that he had a magnificent palace which contained a chapel full of sacred emblems and the like. Minoan art never shows us the king in company with the gods or even sacrificing to them, as Oriental art often does. In any case, we learn from Minos very little about Greece proper.

The gods in Homer are immortal, ἀθάνατοι. They lead a life in the empyrean, far from care, and amuse themselves by allotting ills to mankind (cf. the Epicurean picture of the gods

¹ See his discourse on the three forms of government, iii. 80-2.

² H. J. Rose, "The Evidence for Divine Kings in Greece", in *La Regalità Sacra*, pp. 371-8.

Turning to history, the two kings at Sparta originally had priestly functions, but the duality of kingship, like the duality of the Roman consulship, may have originally been as much military as religious. Kings are often priests in the ancient world, but the division between priest and layman is not so great in some communities as in others—in Greece a priest had no separate status at all apart from honorary offices except as part of the official duty devolving upon a high magistrate. We now come to the Athenian ἄρχων βασιλεύς, who by his title seems at first sight to be the very person we are looking for. The duties of *archon* or ruler in Athens were shared by a body of nine, of whom the first was later called ἐπώνυμος as giving his name to the year, the second βασιλεύς or king and the third πολέμαρχος or war-leader; the remaining six were called θεσμόθεται or legislators. It used to be thought that the title βασιλεύς referred to the legendary days when kings ruled Athens, but later scholarship seems to run counter to this view and to regard the title as almost wholly connected with religion. For example, the philosopher Heraclitus was made βασιλεύς of Ephesus. The duties of the ἄρχων βασιλεύς at Athens were to preside at the Dionysia, to superintend the Mysteries and to offer up sacrifices at both Athens and Eleusis. Indictments for impiety and controversies about the priesthood were laid before him; and in cases of murder he brought the trial before the Areopagus and voted with its members. His wife, called queen, βασιλίσσα, had to offer certain sacrifices and it was therefore required that she be a citizen of pure stock and previously unmarried.¹ She had to take part in a remarkable sacred marriage with Dionysus at the Anthesteria,² but whatever significance there may have been in this was the wrong way round for the Myth and Ritual theorists. The βασιλεύς was merely a magistrate annually elected, and no special significance was attached to his office.

Kings were often called by cult-titles in early Greece as in other Near-Eastern communities. Rose discusses this whole problem in the article already quoted, and makes two important points: firstly, that as regards divine titles the evidence has often

¹ See Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. Archontes.

² Aristotle, *Αθ. πολ.*, 3. 5.

been late and uncritically used (he instances Periphas, a king supposedly so ancient that Kekrops had not yet been produced from the earth, yet who appears only in Hellenistic sources and in authors like Ovid who copied them); and secondly, that no one theory will account for the numerous kings and prominent figures to whom the name Zeus is at one time or another appended.¹ To this one might add that the important point is whether there are any traces of cult accompanying the myth (in the case of Periphas there are none—Rose sees in him a “faded god whose cult was later absorbed by Zeus or perhaps by Apollo”), and also that such considerations as time and place are significant. Rose explains some of the cult-titles by syncretism: “For example since Zeus is (among other titles) Soter and Soter is also a favourite title of Asklepios, I see no reason why the minor, but enormously popular, god should not have been on occasion identified with the greater one.” If this explanation sounds a little too verbal, yet by our own experience we can concede that it would be easy to imagine each god in turn as the only true and great god, of whom all the other god-kings and god-men are aspects.

There are legends in Greek epic which conform to the requirements of a ritual myth, but it seems that a hero is more often than a king looked upon as the champion of a people against the forces of destruction. Glaucus in *Iliad* vi. 152 ff tells Diomedes how queen Anteia, the wife of Proetus king of Ephyræ in Argos, fell in love with the young nobleman Bellerophon, was repulsed and forthwith lied to her husband with the result that Bellerophon was sent to Lycia with sealed tablets instructing the king of Lycia to kill him. Bellerophon is set a number of super-human tasks, all of which he accomplishes. This familiar theme, which recurs in the stories of Jason and Heracles, is taken by Raglan and others to indicate a struggle between a hero-king and the forces of destruction, which was ritually enacted for the purpose of securing the fertility of the land for another year. The old charioteer Phoenix tells a similar story about himself in *Iliad* ix. 434 ff., the chief features of which are that he obtains the love of his father's paramour, is driven away by his father in consequence and entertains thoughts of murdering him. This

¹ *La Regalità Sacra*, pp. 373-4.

looks like an even more primitive form of the story with elements akin to the legend of Oedipus. Yet with all this I cannot help the suspicion that these tales are told for their own sake to a delighted audience who have no interest whatever in myth and ritual.

Did the hero-cult, which reached its peak in the Games, originate in a sacred combat for the renewal of fertility? In its essentials we have a young man such as Theseus or Jason or Heracles, himself of divine or semi-divine parenthood, undergoing various labours for various peoples in the course of which he comes near to losing his life. A noteworthy feature here, and one which militates somewhat against the Myth and Ritual interpretation of the story, is the vagrancy of the hero, who appears as a kind of strong man out of the West, the kind of champion who in a diluted form enjoys much popularity nowadays in such incarnations as the Lone Ranger (and incidentally the Lone Ranger is a good test case—is he or is he not a cult figure? And if he is, who cares about this when watching his exploits on television?)

Of this kind of hero the outstanding example is of course Heracles, the son of Zeus and Alcmene according to Homer. As he lies in his cradle Hera sends two serpents to destroy him, but he strangles them with his bare hands. Throughout his career he is liable to outbursts of primitive violence; thus he is instructed by the youth Linos in lyre-playing, but kills him after receiving a rebuke, and is then sent by Amphitryon, who is instructing him in chariot-driving, to look after cattle. After various pugilistic adventures he is driven mad by Hera and kills his own children. As a purification he is ordered by the Delphic priestess to serve Eurystheus of Tiryns for twelve years. During this time he performs his twelve labours, all of which involve the destruction of a national scourge, and one of which includes a journey to the underworld to bring back Cerberus. Heracles marries Deianeira the daughter of Oineus after fighting with the river Achelous for her (I do not know if there is a ritual significance in fighting with rivers). He accidentally kills a lad Eunomus and goes into exile, in the course of which the centaur Nessus attacks Deianeira and is killed by a poisoned arrow. The

dying centaur calls to Deianeira to take his blood with her as a sure means of retaining the love of her husband ; Heracles carries off Iole the daughter of Eurytus of Oechalia and comes to Euboea whence he sends his companion Lichas to Trachis for a white garment which he intends to put on for sacrifice. Deianeira, thinking it is for Iole, steeps the garment in the blood of Nessus, and when he puts it on Heracles suffers the most excruciating agony. He immolates himself on a pyre on Mount Oeta and is received into Olympus where he marries Hebe the daughter of Hera. And yet he is not at home on Olympus, for Homer makes Odysseus see him in Hades and be puzzled thereat : " Next I observed the mighty Heracles—that is, his shade, since he himself banquets with the immortal gods and has for consort Hebe " (*Od.* xi. 601 ff).¹

One obvious fact emerging from all this is that the Heracles legend is in reality a collection of stories of various dates and places all gathered round the one name, and, one may suspect, often merely variants of the same story. The descent into Hades is very like the sacred combat, but it is also told of Theseus and Orpheus, and the point that matters is, Had the story any ritual significance at the time of our literary sources ? The answer is surely very little. Euripides uses in the *Alcestis* a primitive myth about Heracles fighting with death, and here it does seem that there is a very strong cultic flavour about the story, which was almost certainly taken over by Euripides from a very early source, as was his wont. Jane Harrison collected evidence to show that Heracles was originally a year *daimon*.² His labours are twelve, a significant number for astronomy and the calendar. His club was originally a bough from a living tree, and in an Orphic hymn is referred to as banishing the Keres or fates ; in the left hand he is sometimes represented with a cornucopia which he broke off from the river Achelous when it fought him in the shape of a bull. The wooing of Deianeira may be a *hieros gamos* or ritual marriage. Herodotus remarks (ii. 44) that his researches prove Heracles to be a figure of great antiquity and quotes with approval those

¹ A convenient summary of the legends about Heracles will be found in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v.

² Harrison, *Themis*, chap. ix.

Greeks who see him as a dual figure, both god and hero, and who worship these aspects of him in separate temples. Diodorus Siculus (iv. 39) says that at Opous the inhabitants were ordered to make a yearly sacrifice in honour of the hero Heracles. It seems, then, that Heracles is more of a Myth and Ritual figure than Agamemnon.

The origin of the Olympic Games has been dealt with by F. M. Cornford in a separate chapter of *Themis*. His conclusions are that the games were originally an annual or quadrennial sacrifice ritual, and in essence a New Year festival, the inauguration of a year. The traditional myth was that Pelops beat Oenomaus in a chariot race in which Oenomaus had been wont to pursue and slay all suitors for his daughter Hippodameia. At the funeral of Oenomaus Pelops held magnificent games. Here one can recognize the contest between young and old kings, so central a feature of the myth and ritual of death and rebirth, a theme which has been carried to such lengths by Margaret Murray that she sees in the deaths of William Rufus, John, Edward II and Richard II the ritual slaying of a king of declining powers.¹ There is also the *harpagē* or carrying-off of the bride, possibly some survival of a sacred marriage.

A. B. Cook once suggested that in mythical times the Olympic contest was a means of deciding who should be king of the district and champion of the local tree-Zeus.² In historic times the victor was treated with divine honours, feasted in the prytaneum, crowned with a spray of olive like the wreath of Zeus, and when he returned to his native city he was dressed in royal purple and drawn by white horses through a breach in the walls (honours almost as extravagant are paid to the winning football team in the cup final at Wembley). In some cases he was worshipped after death as a hero; and this may be because he was once thought to be incarnate god. Plutarch (*Symposium*, v. 2. 675) says: "I hesitate to mention that in ancient times there was also held at Pisa a contest consisting of a single combat, which ended only with the slaughter and death of the vanquished."

¹ Margaret Murray, "The Divine King", in *La Regalità Sacra*, pp. 595-608.

² See *Classical Review*, xvii. 268 ff. Professor Cook's views have, of course, been elaborated, and an immense amount of material collected, in his *Zeus*.

The word "year" does not necessarily denote a solar year, for Servius on *Aen.* iii. 284 remarks that "the ancients computed their time by the heavenly bodies and at first called a period of thirty days a lunar year". There is little evidence of the variation of meaning of the Greek word *ἔτος*, but it is possible that the four-year period constituting an Olympiad may be a survival of a longer year. The difficulty here is to reconcile a longer year with the renewal of fertility in men, animals and crops, a ceremony which would necessarily take place each year. A fifth-century *krater* in Chicago¹ shows Salmoneus, a weather-king arrayed with the attributes of an Olympic victor, wearing a fetter on his left ankle, and there are traces of a *κρόνος πεδητής* who was released annually at the winter festival. Cornford's explanation, if it can be called such, is that the single combat and possibly the whole festival may have originally taken place in midwinter, but that every forty-nine or fifty months the lunar year of 354 days and the solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days coincided by the addition of intercalary months, and that at some time a fresh "great year" was inaugurated, beginning in midsummer.

Other features in the development of the Games may be briefly noted: Pausanias (v, 7, 6) sees in the games a celebration of the birth of the Cretan Zeus, at which the Kouretes danced; Pindar relates in this connection the legend of Tantalus serving up to the gods the body of his son Pelops boiled in a cauldron; Zeus' miraculous restoring of the child is taken by Cornford as an ritual of new birth preceded by a symbolic and counterfeit death. This gives us, he says, the ritual needed to complete the religion of the mother and child and the Kouretes in the Idaean cave beneath the hill of Kronos. There are several myths of the eating of children, Thyestes, Kronos, Zeus, and Cornford connects this with the succession to an annual or periodic kingdom.

To sum up, Cornford's conclusions about the Victor and the Hero: the triumphal procession, with its sacrifice and eating of a bull, the hymn to the hero and the concluding feast in the banqueting chamber, was the central rite and the foot-race was a preliminary. The race was originally run to determine who should be the greatest Kouros or king of his year, but developed

¹ See Harrison, *Themis*, p. 80.

into the vast sports of classical times. Even in historic times there is evidence that the person of the victor was not of primary importance. The earliest salute to the victor was "Hail, king Heracles!" and even in Pindar's Odes there is a personal reference only at the beginning and the end. The rest is occupied with the deeds of ancestors and the *δαίμων γενέθλιος* or genius of his house, and it is this *δαίμων* incarnate which is the real subject of commemoration. Cornford draws the analogy here between the victory ode and tragedy. Both—and this is even more true of early tragedy—begin with a ritual to which the accompanying myth is secondary.

At least part of the expiation for past sins in Greece as in Israel and other countries devolved upon the *φαρμακός* or scapegoat, literally "remedy".¹ In *Iliad*, ii. 217 ff., 258 ff., we come across a man who might have been drawn for the part, Thersites. He was the ugliest man to come to Ilium. He had a game foot and was bandy-legged. His rounded shoulders almost met across his chest; and above them rose an egg-shaped head, which sprouted a few short hairs. Achilles and Odysseus were his favourite butts. He rails at Agamemnon, and Odysseus threatens to strip him naked and cast him out of the assembly to blubber by the ships.

In various Greek states the *φαρμακός* was loaded with insults and driven forth from men. In Harpocration's lexicon we read that in Athens at the Thargelia (the harvest of first-fruits in May and June) they led out two men as *καθάρσια* or purifications for the city, one for the men and one for the women; he gives an explanation involving a *φαρμακός* who had stolen cups from Apollo and was killed in consequence, and adds *καὶ τὰ τοῖς θαργηλίοις ἀγόμενα τούτων ἀπομίμηματά ἐστιν*, the ceremony at the Thargelia was an imitation of this. Helladius in the lexicon of Photius agrees with this account. The ceremony of casting out the *φαρμακός* may at one time have involved human sacrifice, and Rohde thought that several allusions in the lyric and comic poets of the classical period showed that this was still true, but Murray argued that the language involved no more than a mimetic ceremony.² The

¹ See J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, part vi (*The Scapegoat*); G. Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic* (3rd edn., Oxford, 1924), Appendix A.

² Rohde, *Psyche* (4th edn., Tübingen, 1907), pp. 406 ff.

significance of the *φάρμακός* is that he is a sin-offering to a god who is not wholly but at least partly "other", and cannot very well exist side by side with a king-god who dies and is reborn as champion of his people and the expiator of their sins. The motive may have been the same but the conception was quite different.

There were two strains in the blood of the Greek: the indigenous, pastoral strain, reflected in myths such as that of Demeter, and the nomadic, active strain evidenced in the Achæan invasions and reflected in Homer. In the legend of Demeter and Persephone we find another variant of the myth of the mother-goddess which, as we have seen, is evidenced as early as the fourth millennium B.C. There are many representations of this goddess in Minoan and Mycenaean art. The general opinion, held, e.g. by Nilsson, Farnell and Picard,¹ is that the goddess represents the earth and the young god who is seen with her is sacrificed and born again. The goddess appears under a variety of names, Rhea, Britomartis, Dictynna, Aphaia, and in various guises as divine mother, as protectress of animals and as a warrior goddess. Sir Arthur Evans gives representatives of her worship by Zeus or Zagreus,² and Axel W. Persson claims to detect a cycle in the worship of this deity from Mycenaean rings.³ He affects to find on these rings mourning ceremonies connected with a burial in which dying vegetation is portrayed; dances and the giving of gifts; various forms of thanksgiving at the return of spring, budding flowers, rain and decorated shrines; bull games; a summer festival showing both god and goddess; and the goddess of fertility departing over the sea in a divine boat. Aphaia, Aphrodite, Ariadne, Artemis, Demeter, Eileithuia, Helen, Persephone—all are worshipped under this guise; and we find Dionysos, Erichthonios, Eros, Glaukos, Hyacinthos, Cronos and the Cretan Zeus at times in the rôle of the youthful god.

¹ L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford, 1921), chaps. i-iv; M. P. Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion* (London, 1927), chap. i; Picard, *Les Religions Préhelléniques* (Paris, 1948), 74-80, 111 ff.

² Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, vols. iii and iv.

³ A. W. Persson, *The Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times* (Berkeley, California, 1942), pp. 25-104.

The Eleusinian mysteries are a vast subject and do not afford much help to the seeker after the conventional Myth and Ritual pattern. They originated in a festival of the sowing, which took place in Boedromion (Sept./Oct.), and if the Homeric Hymn to Demeter is a cult-text, as it very well may be, we are presented with a goddess-figure, Persephone, to typify the death and re-birth of the year. She is a very ancient figure, almost as terrifying as the Zhob figurines which Stuart Piggott found in Baluchistan; in Homer she is always the "dread goddess" whose name is coupled with that of Hades as passing judgement on the dead when they reached the underworld.¹ In the Homeric Hymn all this primitive awe is dispelled and we find an innocent maiden who reminds us of *The Winter's Tale*. The whole hymn is full of forward-looking allusions to the Mysteries, but we are still in ignorance of what was disclosed to initiates. It may be that one might seek an analogy with the democratization of Egyptian religion associated with Osiris in the assurance of personal immortality, which was the greatest gift conferred at Eleusis. A young god or goddess dies, is lamented and rises again by miraculous means, and the rejoicing over his resurrection may include a sacred marriage between the god and a mortal, in this case the wife of the *archon basileus*. But whether this is a marriage of the "Myth and Ritual" kind, what significance it had for the participants, to what extent it was influenced by foreign cults, are questions to which there is no final answer.

One important point to stress in conclusion is that the myth of the king-god, though it left certain traces in older Greek legend, had no lasting or deep influence on Greek religion and certainly not on its literature. The *Iliad* remains a great poem ranking with the *Aeneid*, *Paradise Lost* and *La Divina Commedia*, and its morality and outlook are to be classed with theirs. A malady of our present age is that we now know about the Subconscious and that, brought up on Freud, we see in religion no more than "beastly devices of the heathen". There is something alien and repellent about the Sumerian gods, about Marduk and the Pharaonic king-god, about the Eye-Goddess and Moloch and Baal; we do not regard them any the more favourably for

¹ E.g. *Od.* xi. 213, 635.

knowing more about them. The nineteenth-century interpreters of the Classics got more out of them than we do because they went straight to the noble and rational and uplifting things which are the real legacy of Greek literature and did not probe into the primeval slime from which it emerged. The same is true of the Christian religion ; it was once said of Frazer that the worst kind of Polynesian superstition would fare better at his hands than evangelical Christianity, and his school of interpretation has certainly done harm as well as good in focussing attention on the often degrading and worthless cults of remote tribes instead of on the central phenomena of religion in contemporary society. It is pleasing to think that a sober and sceptical judgement finds little to justify wild theories about the presence of the Myth and Ritual pattern in Greek literature.

THE NOVELS OF MRS. GASKELL ¹

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LECTURER IN ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

“OUR readers need not be alarmed at the prospect of penetrating the recesses of Manchester.” Thus ran a comment in *The North British Review* in 1851 upon some contemporary novels about social conditions, *Mary Barton* amongst them. I begin with this quotation to remind us that there are two Mrs. Gaskells, that there is not only the Mrs. Gaskell of *Cranford* with its genteel manners, quiet humour and delicate pathos, but also the Mrs. Gaskell of *Mary Barton*’s Manchester with its industrial strife, overcrowded dwellings, malnutrition, disease and death. Though Mrs. Gaskell is immediately and inevitably associated with Knutsford, from which she drew the inspiration for her best-known book, it is but right that she should be remembered here in Manchester where the greater part of her life was spent. It is particularly appropriate that we in the University should remember her and pay tribute to her memory, for she has special links with this place. Her husband, by the amalgamation of the Working Men’s College at which he lectured with Owens College, may be considered one of the first lecturers in English literature in this University; and I calculate that the Gaskell’s first married home, 14 Dover Street, probably occupied a site not far from where the Electrical Engineering Department’s electronic computer is now situated. So time brings its changes. The opening paragraph of *Mary Barton* tells of black and white farmhouses in Green Heys Fields, and from her correspondence it appears that Mrs. Gaskell later kept cows in Plymouth Grove.

With one who belonged so entirely to Knutsford and Manchester and whose work is so much dominated by these two places, it comes as something of a surprise to learn that Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell (née Stevenson) was born at a house not far

¹ A Paper read in the University of Manchester to commemorate the 150th anniversary of Mrs. Gaskell’s birth.

from Battersea Bridge—on 29 September 1810. She came of Unitarian stock. Her father William Stevenson had been a minister, but like Mr. Hale in *North and South* he resigned on grounds of conscience. Her mother was a Holland of Sandlebridge, and through *her* family Elizabeth was distantly related to the Darwins and the Wedgwoods. Her mother died when Elizabeth was thirteen months old, and following that event the young child moved to her mother's sister, Hannah, "Aunt Lumb", at Heathside, Knutsford. There she grew up until in 1825 she went to school at Stratford-on-Avon, followed in 1827 by two years with her father in London until his death in 1829, when she went to stay with her friend, Ann Turner, daughter of a Unitarian minister, first in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, then in Edinburgh, and finally with Ann's sister, the wife of the minister of Cross Street Unitarian Chapel, Manchester.

There she met the assistant minister, William Gaskell. He was to be minister of Cross Street till his death in 1884. Elizabeth Stevenson and William Gaskell were married in the parish church of Knutsford on 30 August 1832, and after a honeymoon in North Wales they settled at 14 Dover Street on Elizabeth's twenty-second birthday. There followed thirty-three years of married life, her husband absorbed in the religious and social responsibilities of his work, she herself assisting him, rearing her family and later writing novels and travelling widely both in this country and abroad. With the birth of children and their increasing social obligations the Gaskells moved to larger houses, first in 1842 to 121 Upper Rumford Street and finally in 1849 to 42 (now 84) Plymouth Grove, the only one of their three Manchester houses still standing.

The Gaskells had six children, of whom four, all daughters, survived. The death of their only son at a few months old in 1845 was a very great blow. To one of her friends (Annie Shaen) she wrote of "the evenings reading by the fire and watching my darling *darling* Willie, who now sleeps sounder still in the dull, dreary chapel-yard at Warrington. That wound will never heal on earth."¹ It was in an attempt to distract her from her sorrow that William Gaskell persuaded his wife to take up writing.

¹ A. B. Hopkins, *Elizabeth Gaskell* (1952), p. 66.

The result was *Mary Barton*, published in 1848. Her reputation was immediately established, and there followed over the years a host of short stories, the major works by which she is now chiefly remembered (*Ruth* (1853), *Cranford* (1853), *North and South* (1855), *Sylvia's Lovers* (1863) and *Wives and Daughters* (posthumously—1866)), and her one biography, a classic in its own right, the *Life of Charlotte Brontë* (1857). Her life was a busy one and her literary work must have been followed often under extreme difficulty, but there is a sense of calm, an unruffled quality about her. She died as quietly as she appears to have lived. Staying at the little country house near Alton in Hampshire, which she had bought as a surprise for her husband, she suddenly collapsed and died on 12 November 1865. Her body was brought back to Manchester and now lies buried in the grounds of Brook Street Unitarian Chapel, Knutsford.

Let me begin my consideration of her work with the book that her early life in Knutsford inspired. The first thing to be said about *Cranford* is that it is not really a novel, but a series of episodes loosely connected together. The second thing I might say is that, contrary to what is sometimes assumed, it is not set in the reign of Queen Victoria. It belongs, as, for instance, the beginning of Chapter VII indicates, to the time of King William and Queen Adelaide, the early eighteen-thirties. Not, however, that we should be too strict about dating everything in Mrs. Gaskell. The bank failure, for example, may have been suggested by that of the Bank of Manchester in 1842 or by that of Ryle and Daintry of Park Green, Macclesfield, in 1841 as mentioned by Ward in his introduction to the Knutsford edition of Mrs. Gaskell's works. Ward, by the way, is not always to be trusted in matters of fact. He calls the Ryle-Daintry bank the "Royal Dantery" and says it failed in 1823,¹ and his statement that 'Within a month after her birth she (Mrs. Gaskell) lost her mother' is wrong by a year.²

"The beginning of *Cranford* was one paper in 'Household Words'; and I never meant to write more . . .",³ so Mrs. Gaskell told Ruskin. Much in this first paper (the first two chapters of the work as we have it) together with other incidents

¹ *Cranford*, p. xv.

² *Mary Barton*, p. xviii.

³ Hopkins, p. 104.

later in the book was taken over from an essay, "The Last Generation in England", which she had written for *Sartain's Magazine* in 1849. Portions of *Cranford* appeared irregularly in *Household Words*, which was edited by Dickens, from 13 December 1851 to 21 May 1853.

Cranford is a book that is lovingly written. This no doubt arises, to some extent, from the fact that Mrs. Gaskell was writing of a town she loved and of people from whose lives she constructed the characters of her work. Places in the town have been readily identified and the incidents likewise have been associated with actual counterparts. But it is with an authenticity other than the historical that I want to deal. I refer to that of the characters. They ring true to life. By that I do not mean that Mrs. Gaskell was seeking to be realistic. I mean rather that together they form a society in which we can believe. The achievement is the greater for the whimsicality that pervades the book, for there is nothing more threatening to conviction than whimsicality. The source of Mrs. Gaskell's success is the affection and sympathy with which she regarded her characters, an affection and sympathy which was heightened rather than diminished by her clear-sighted appreciation of their faults and foibles.

Cranford provides only a very narrow social group. As the opening sentence states, "In the first place, *Cranford* is in possession of the Amazons". Hardly Amazons perhaps, but at any rate the sex is right. But not only are the main characters women, they are women of a particular age and class. They are middle-class and elderly spinsters and widows. The men are absent, the servants, with the exception of the admirable Martha, are below stairs, the tradesmen are dealt with but hardly recognized, and the aristocracy are honoured at a distance in the remoteness of their country-houses. "Our Society" of the first chapter is a world of well-defined attitudes and precise distinctions, a world where things are "done" and "not done". "I dare say your mamma has told you, my dear, never to let more than three days elapse between receiving a call and returning it; and also, that you are never to stay longer than a quarter of an hour."¹ And if Miss Jessie Brown did not possess the tact or discretion

¹ Knutsford edition, p. 3.

to conceal the fact that her uncle was a shopkeeper in Edinburgh, then Miss Jenkyns must try "to drown this confession by a terrible cough—for the Honourable Mrs. Jamieson was sitting at the card-table nearest Miss Jessie, and what would she say or think if she found out she was in the same room with a shopkeeper's niece".¹ This reminds us that the world of Cranford was also a world of appearances, a world in which the impecunious—and it is the Honourable Mrs. Jamieson who is referred to—made thrift a virtue rather different in character from that in which we are usually content conventionally to regard it. In Cranford it was "'Elegant economy!'. . . There, economy was always 'elegant', and money-spending always 'vulgar and ostentatious'".² Mrs. Gaskell, however, is the commentator as well as the reporter. This sentence concludes with a description of this attitude as "a sort of sour grapeism which made us very peaceful and satisfied". The use of the first person plural reminds us of the skilful position the narrator is made to take up in *Cranford*, a position at once involved with, and yet detached from, the characters of the book. It enables her to strike a note of actuality (very necessary when you are dealing with Betsy Barker's cow) and at the same time to stand apart and criticize; but yet to moderate that criticism by reminding the reader that she, the story-teller, belongs to, and has an affection for, the group she is describing.

At the centre of it stands—or perhaps more appropriately, sits in some state—Miss Debōrah Jenkyns (Debōrah, because her father "the Rector" said that was the pronunciation of the word in Hebrew), the personification of correctness. Beside her, her gentle sister, the lovable Miss Matty, the character whose kindness shows how much better that quality is than correctness, who represents human values over against social conventions. Yet formal and strait-laced as Miss Jenkyns is, in real need friendship triumphs over formality. She appeared to be rather fierce, but much *was* mere appearance. With Miss Matty, however, all is transparent sincerity and benevolence. With her, elegant economy is accepted for what it is, not as a form of keeping up appearances.

¹ Knutsford edition, p. 9.

² *Ibid.* p. 4.

We may criticize her sister, but we appreciate why *she* does not. Indeed we admire her devotion and humility. The reference to the meal-time ritual¹ provides a good example of the different way in which we regard the two sisters. The forms were those which were observed in "my father, the rector's house", that is, all Miss Jenkyns's stiff traditionalism. The description, however, refers to an occasion after Miss Jenkyns's death, an event which made no alteration to the ritual, for, even though Miss Matty had objected to certain aspects of domestic regulation in the lifetime of her sister, sisterly love for her memory prevented any change after her death. That is, formality has now been changed to humanity. Miss Matty is lovable, and also pathetic. How she misses her sister—"Oh! how must I manage? . . . If only Debōrah had been alive she would have known how to deal with a gentleman-visitor."² How perfectly Mrs. Gaskell catches this character—the fussy, timorous, refined elderly spinster—her amusing attempts to evade a meeting with the man she had rejected over thirty years before, her friend Miss Pole's cousin, then their dinner with him ("It is very pleasant dining with a bachelor, . . . I only hope it is not improper; so many pleasant things are!"³); and finally, after his sudden death, her taking to caps made after the style of those worn by widows, and her permitting Martha to have her boyfriend in once a week.⁴

Amusing and pathetic, but the pathos deepens as we travel back over the lives of these two spinsters. We are led to see Miss Matty the old lady as a young and happy girl, the girl of whom we are reminded at the end when her brother, returned after long years in India, chaffs her about her failure to marry Holbrook. He did not know of the family pressures which, on grounds of class, had prevented Miss Matty from accepting him. Mrs. Gaskell makes much of the pathos of the irrevocable past in the history of the Jenkyns, with the "old letters", those, for instance, "interchanged between my ever-honoured father and my dearly-loved mother, prior to their marriage in July 1774", the father's "full of eager, passionate ardour", the

¹ Knutsford edition, pp. 30-1.

³ Ibid. pp. 40-1.

² Ibid. p. 32.

⁴ Ibid. p. 47.

mother's, the "girl-bride" as Mrs. Gaskell describes her, notable mainly for their expression of "a longing for a white paduasoy",¹ a longing not to be satisfied in her lifetime; but ironically, the day after her death one arrived from the long-lost Peter, "just such a shawl as she wished for when she was married, and her mother did not give it her".² The pathos is deepened by her husband's resolve that she should be buried in the shawl she had longed for but never seen.

The humour of the book does not quite match the pathos, but it is nevertheless delightful and, within the limits that the book allows, quite varied. We smile at the ways of Cranford, their undue seriousness and their magnification of the trivial. Sometimes, as in the case of the cow with the flannel waistcoat, it is almost farcical, but more often it is humour exactly in character with the people who often all unwittingly provide it, Miss Matty, for instance, during the burglary scare: "It was very unpleasant to think of looking under a bed, and seeing a man concealed, with a great, fierce face staring out at you; so she had bethought herself of something—perhaps I had noticed that she had told Martha to buy her a penny ball, such as children play with—and now she rolled this under the bed every night: if it came out on the other side, well and good; if not, she always had her hand on the bell-rope."³

Cranford is not the slight piece, the merely interesting tale, that it is often thought to be. It reveals a remarkable penetration into the thoughts and feelings of people apparently, but only apparently, uninteresting; it manifests an insight into unsuspected depths; and in Miss Matty with "her patience, her humility, her sweetness, her quiet contentment with all that she could not do",⁴ it presents a noble self-effacing heroine.

With *Mary Barton* we remove from the slow-moving, gracious, middle-class world of Knutsford to "dull ugly smoky grim grey Manchester".⁵ It is one of that large class of novels concerned with social conditions which appeared in the two decades from 1845 to 1865. Its sub-title is "A Tale of Manchester Life",

¹ Knutsford edition, p. 52.

² *Ibid.* p. 70.

³ *Ibid.* p. 118.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 158.

⁵ Letter of Mrs. Gaskell, quoted in Hopkins, p. 229.

and it is based on conditions in Manchester during the early years of the "Hungry Forties". Mrs. Gaskell wrote out of avowed sympathy for "the careworn men, who looked as if doomed to struggle through their lives in strange alternations between work and want".¹ She intended originally to entitle it *John Barton* after the man who is really the central character in this story of industrial strife, class-hatred, poverty, starvation and death. Alongside this social theme we have the account of Mary Barton, beloved of Jem Wilson and desired by the young employer Carson. This particular version of the eternal triangle, the lover poor but honourable, the rich would-be seducer, and the girl apparently the more attracted by the latter's advances, represents one aspect of the novel's crudity. Another is the persecution of innocence in Jem Wilson—tried, and only rescued at the last moment from suffering death, for the murder of young Carson. That this should happen to Jem, the true lover, kind son, bold hero of the mill fire! The fault is that of over-simplification. The colours are bold, but not convincing. The fault derives in good part from the moralizing intention of the work. This is also responsible for another effect of over-simplification, for the sentimentality which sometimes creeps in. There is a veritable profusion of death-scenes, but what is even less acceptable than these is the character of Margaret Jennings, contrast to Mary, the good girl who goes blind and suffers in uncomplaining resignation—and then at the end has her sight restored.

As with many a first novel, sureness of touch and disciplined control are lacking, but also as with many a first novel, *Mary Barton* lives because it says something that was crying out to be said. Moreover, the fervour—and the imaginative fervour is derived from, and co-existent with, the moral fervour—is matched by knowledge. She knew the place and the people she was writing about. From its pleasant beginnings with walks in Greenheys Fields and a tea-party in days of moderate prosperity the book descends to strife and suffering, to Berry Street, "unpaved: and down the middle a gutter forced its way, every now and then forming pools in the holes with which the street abounded . . . women from their doors tossed household slops of every

¹ Preface.

description into the gutter. . . . Heaps of ashes were the stepping-stones, on which the passer-by who cared in the least for cleanliness, took care not to put his foot ", and to Davenport's cellar—" It was very dark inside. The window-panes, many of them were broken and stuffed with rags, which was reason enough for the dusky light that pervaded the place even at mid-day. . . . The smell was so foetid as almost to knock the two men down . . . [and there they saw] three or four little children rolling on the damp, nay wet brick floor, through which the stagnant, filthy moisture of the street oozed up ; the fireplace was empty and black." ¹ This is not exaggerated. The reports of commissions and individual investigators confirm its accuracy, but even if they did not, the passage is self-authenticating. Beneath the matter-of-fact detail one senses the passion which informs it.

Her descriptive power is one of Mrs. Gaskell's strongest qualities both in *Mary Barton* and elsewhere. Yet another is her ability to tell an exciting story ; the chase after the ship *John Cropper* as it left Liverpool to find the vital witness, Will Wilson, is an example of this. (She used to tell ghost stories at night before her company retired to bed ; Charlotte Brontë could not stand this practice.) A third quality is her sure grasp of social reactions especially among the working classes, the way in which they help each other so readily in distress or again the way in which certain prejudices (the lingering conservatism about machines) ² and folk-attitudes (the sociology of bereavement with the funeral meal, " a grand affair, well-nigh twenty people to breakfast " ³) are displayed amongst them. Details such as these give to Mrs. Gaskell's novels about social conditions a precision and authenticity of atmosphere that is missing, for instance, in Dickens's *Hard Times*. A better contrast perhaps is provided by Disraeli's *Sybil* where the detail is present, but has a theoretical air about it, giving the impression of intelligent reporting rather than sympathetic description.

Yet another example of Mrs. Gaskell's intimate knowledge is her description of the employer and his family. The elder Carson is the self-made man, rugged, harsh, prepared all the time to fight his workers but with a respect for them even if it is

¹ Knutsford edition, pp. 65-6.

² *Ibid.* p. 97.

³ *Ibid.* p. 49.

only for them as his opponents. His son, born to wealth and power and position, is less aware of them as individuals with thoughts and passions. For him they are merely the opportunity for a joke. When the men had entered the room for their meeting with the employers, "Mr. Harry Carson had taken out his silver pencil, and drawn an admirable caricature of them—lank, ragged, dispirited, and famine-stricken. Underneath he wrote a hasty quotation from the fat knight's well-known speech in *Henry IV*".¹ That "silver pencil" is enough to show the power that Mrs. Gaskell can derive from detail. It is a symbol of the luxury and extravagance that finds yet vaster and more vulgar expression among the wives and daughters of the employers than is found among themselves.

For that caricature Harry Carson died. With something of Hardy's sense of the terrible consequences that may arise from small events, but without his feeling of the inexorable malignity of fate, Mrs. Gaskell portrays one of the men as asking a waiter for the drawing to take it to his little son at home. Not till he receives it do the men realize that they had been the butt of Carson's wit, but when they do, they swear vengeance which by lot John Barton is appointed to carry out. Like certain other incidents in *Mary Barton*, this may appear rather melodramatic, but it is not. There is nothing false in the delineation of their characters, and in that of John Barton Mrs. Gaskell has achieved one of her triumphs. He is a man of goodwill, tainted, admittedly, from the first with the class-feeling it is difficult to avoid in the environment in which he lives, but nevertheless content with little, a man at first hopeful in suffering, then driven in turn to despair and vindictiveness. "The mind became soured and morose. . . . It ceased to hope. And it is hard to live on when one can no longer hope."² Not until he is faced by the enormity of the murder he has committed and by the revengefulness of the elder Carson does he really begin to think and feel again. Then resignedly he accepts the justice of punishment. But John Barton is to die before the penalty of the law can be imposed. He dies, in a moment of symbolic reconciliation in the arms of Carson, who has been compelled to come to the

¹ Knutsford edition, p. 213.

² *Ibid.* p. 194.

Barton home by a reading of the Gospel. This may appear all very didactic, and in a sense it is, but we must be careful to read the right lesson from it. Mrs. Tillotson is right when she states that the story is not simply "a moral fable showing why working men turn Chartists and assassins; it is the timeless history of how a man full of human kindness is hardened into (and by) hatred and violence".¹ John Barton's dying words surely support this view: "All along it came natural to love folk, . . . I think one time I could e'en have loved the masters if they'd ha' letten me."² As Mrs. Tillotson has again so wisely remarked, in Mrs. Gaskell we constantly find "the quiet assumption that to know is to understand, to forgive and even to respect".³

That statement is true again of her novel *Ruth*, published in 1853. *Mary Barton* had met a mixed, and in some places stormy, reception on its appearance. Critics alleged that Mrs. Gaskell had been unfair to the employers. *The Manchester Guardian*, for example, said that the book "sinned generally against the truth in matters of fact, either above the comprehension of its authoress or beyond her sphere of knowledge" (28 February 1849). It was on the grounds of morality rather than of accuracy that *Ruth* was condemned. *Ruth* is the story of an unmarried mother or, as the Victorians would have said, a fallen woman. Again we have a conventional initial situation, the poor girl "innocent and snow-pure"⁴ seduced by the rich young man and eloping with him to North Wales, becoming pregnant of his child, and then his falling ill and being taken away by his mother who exhorts Ruth to repentance, reminding her, "You will not have your own guilt alone upon your head, but that of any young man whom you may succeed in entrapping into vice".⁵ Ruth is rescued in her distress by a Dissenting minister and his sister on holiday and taken to live with them as a widowed relative. Eventually, however, the truth comes out. The book ends with Ruth heroically nursing victims of a fever epidemic and dying from the disease as she cares for her former lover, now the local

¹ *Novels of the Eighteen Forties* (Oxford, 1956), p. 211.

² *Mary Barton* (Knutsford edn.), p. 431.

³ Op. cit. p. 222.

⁴ Knutsford edition, p. 43.

⁵ Ibid. p. 91.

Member of Parliament. "Why should she die?" asked Charlotte Brontë.¹ There was indeed no artistic reason for it; the death is a concession to the storm that Mrs. Gaskell anticipated would break over the novel. It did. Reviewers condemned it, circulating libraries refused to handle it, and men forbade their wives to read it, and of her own home Mrs. Gaskell wrote: "Of course it is a forbidden book in *this* as in many households".² Yet many were found to commend it, among them F. D. Maurice, Charlotte Brontë, Dickens, and Florence Nightingale. I do not propose to dwell on the book, not because I am squeamish about it, but because I find it tediously moral. It is not only in the sequence of events that Mrs. Gaskell keeps one eye so steadily upon moral requirements; the whole structure of the book—theme, development, characterization—is confined within the limits of a too insistent moral intention.

The next novel, *North and South*, represents in some ways an advance on what had gone before. It is about Milton (or Manchester) and its inhabitants with "their energy, their power, their indomitable courage in struggling and fighting, their lurid vividness of existence".³ As the title indicates, it is in large measure a contrast of two ways of life; of north and south, of Manchester with its industry, its strife of the classes and the sturdy independence of its people, and of Helstone in Hampshire, agricultural and with a patriarchal philanthropy at work. The Hale family provides the connecting link. Mr. Hale resigns his living at Helstone on grounds of conscience and becomes a private tutor in Milton. It is through his daughter, however, that we see the faults and virtues of Milton, partly through the adjustment she herself has to make to the new surroundings, but mainly through her contacts with the two sides of industry at a time of dispute and strikes. In this novel Mrs. Gaskell took care not to bring more accusations of bias and unfairness upon herself. The choice of Margaret, an outsider, through whom to express the novel's point of view is one indication of this care. Mrs. Gaskell is scrupulous also in her presentation of the employers' side of the argument (there is too much argument pure and

¹ Quoted by Hopkins, p. 123.

² Quoted by Hopkins, p. 125.

³ Knutsford edition, p. 496.

simple in this novel), and in Thornton she shows us a manufacturer aware of the economic pressures at work upon him also gradually becoming enlightened and willing to make paternalistic experiments. The sum of all Mrs. Gaskell's preaching represents a high ideal. As Mr. Hale puts it of the Union—it "would be beautiful, glorious,—it would be Christianity itself—if it were but for an end which affected the good of all, instead of that of merely one class as opposed to another".¹ She is emphasizing our common humanity as the creatures of God. The chapter from which I quote ends: "Margaret the Churchwoman, her father the Dissenter, Higgins the Infidel, knelt down together. It did them no harm."² It is all very admirable but also very vague. She has no social remedy to prescribe. Of course, you may reply that this is not the novelist's job.

In her sensitive and earnest appreciation of people Margaret is a useful character through whom to focus events for the reader and at the same time she is contrasted with all the other characters of the book. This is not to say that she is perfect. At the beginning she shows a marked snobbishness towards Milton and its people, but her humanity prevails. Later, she is agonized by the fact that in shielding her brother, an exile and a fugitive from the law for protecting sailors against a tyrannous captain years before, from arrest, she told a lie and Thornton knew that she had. Here again Mrs. Gaskell's kindness comes to the fore in the comfort administered to Margaret by her father's friend, Mr. Bell. Despite these faults, Margaret shines by contrast with others, notably Mrs. Thornton and her daughter. The latter is too slight to be fully effective, but there is enough of her to show how shallow she is. Mrs. Thornton is a more substantial character, a hard woman, a product of her environment, but redeemed somewhat by a single quality, her complete and unwavering love for her son.

Mrs. Thornton's drawing-room is a perfect reflection of her character—harsh, heavy, and vulgar. The passage in which Mrs. Gaskell describes it is a fine example of her feminine eye for detail.

¹ Knutsford edition, p. 276.

² Ibid. p. 277.

The furniture was bagged up with as much care as if the house was to be overwhelmed with lava, and discovered a thousand years hence. The walls were pink and gold; the pattern on the carpet represented bunches of flowers on a light ground, but it was carefully covered up in the centre by a linen drugget, glazed and colourless. The window-curtains were lace; each chair and sofa had its own particular veil of netting or knitting. Great alabaster groups occupied every flat surface, safe from dust under their glass shades. In the middle of the room, right under the bagged-up chandelier was a large circular table, with smartly-bound books arranged at regular intervals round the circumference of its polished surface, like gaily-coloured spokes of a wheel. Everything reflected light, nothing absorbed it. . . . Wherever she looked there was evidence of care and labour, but not care and labour to procure ease, to help on habits of tranquil home employment; solely to ornament, and then to preserve ornament from dirt or destruction.¹

The vulgarity in evidence here finds a real-life parallel in a letter of Mrs. Gaskell's to Parthenope Nightingale (later Lady Verney). She writes: "I have been trying to sell Miss Stuart MacKenzie's cameo to some of our rich Manchesterians but, thank you, it is not 'large' enough for them, and cutting and execution is nothing to size."²

The fidelity of detail in the passage quoted above represents one of Mrs. Gaskell's strongest qualities. Another is the essential verisimilitude in her portrayal of Manchester life and people. There are occasional lapses. The invalid Bessy Higgins is a concession to the strong sentimental trait in her work. Her last words—"Give her [Margaret] my affectionate respects; and keep father fro' drink"³—are surely unsurpassed in bathos, and their effect is not improved when three pages later father has to be kept from drink. The contrast of the north and the south, however, shows the certainty with which Mrs. Gaskell was capable of handling the one as compared with the other, a certainty which also serves to emphasize another of the novel's shortcomings. By contrast with the reality of the north, the south is too idyllic, even allowing for the chapter "Looking South" which reveals some of the suffering and poverty of rural areas. This strength of north over south is also to be seen in the characterization. Apart from Margaret, none of the southern characters, not even Mr. Hale, really comes alive. One or two, the servant

¹ Knutsford edition, pp. 130-1.

² In the Verney collection, quoted by kind permission of Sir Harry Verney, Bt.

³ Knutsford edition, p. 257.

Dixon and Aunt Shaw, produce some effective comedy, but the people really envisaged as individuals are "northerners", Thornton and his mother, the Higgins family and especially Nicholas Higgins, the counterpart in this novel of John Barton.

North and South inevitably invites comparisons with *Mary Barton*. It is a better constructed novel than its predecessor and its principal characters are more carefully conceived and delineated, but it lacks the spontaneity and fervour of that work. It is altogether more deliberate. It is also too long. Dickens, for whose *Household Words* it was serialized, became increasingly impatient with it, and this may perhaps explain the rather sudden and insufficiently convincing ending. In the preface to the first edition Mrs. Gaskell said that she "was compelled to hurry on events with an improbable rapidity towards the close". She tried to remedy this defect by adding a number of chapters, but the attempt did not succeed. What was already too long in serial became yet longer but not more effective in book-form. Mrs. Gaskell was inclined to be long-winded. *Sylvia's Lovers* is at least a hundred pages too long by that section added to meet the requirements of Victorian three-decker publication; and her last novel, *Wives and Daughters*, is hardly remarkable for conciseness, and that was unfinished at her death.

Sylvia's Lovers is unique among Mrs. Gaskell's works in both the time and place in which it is set—Monkshaven (or Whitby) in the seventeen-nineties. Sylvia Robson's two lovers are her shopkeeper-cousin Philip Hepburn and the whaling-boat specksioneer, Charlie Kinraid. Sylvia favours Kinraid, but he is seized by the press-gang and everyone—except Philip who knows the truth—thinks he is dead. Sylvia marries Philip. Kinraid returns, now a naval lieutenant, and Philip's failure to tell Sylvia of Kinraid's seizure is revealed. The marriage, never very happy, collapses, and Philip goes away. The book should have ended there, but instead we have those last hundred pages of Philip's very unlikely enlistment, his saving Kinraid's life at the siege of Acre, his return to Monkshaven as a broken-down ex-soldier and the rescue of his child from drowning, his own dying and a death-bed reconciliation with Sylvia.

The most important event in all this is the last, because it concentrates within itself the simplicity and intensity of Mrs. Gaskell's beliefs that most of our failures come not from wickedness but from weakness, from the inability to conceive the ill we are creating ; and that for our weakness there is an infinite compassion. Sylvia is distraught at the thought of the malice she has entertained towards Philip :

" Will He iver forgive me, think yo ? I drove yo' out fra' yo'r home . . . and when yo' come back, poor and lone, and weary, I told her for t' turn yo' out, for a' I knew yo' must be starving in these famine times. I think I shall go about among them as gnash their teeth for iver, while yo' are where all tears are wiped away." " No ! " said Philip, turning round his face, forgetful of himself in his desire to comfort her. " God pities us as a father pities his poor wandering children ; the nearer I come to death the clearer I see Him. But you and me have done wrong to each other ; yet we can see now how we are led to it ; we can pity and forgive one another . . . but thou must remember this: God knows more, and is more forgiving than either you or me, or me to you."¹

In isolation this may seem very pointedly didactic. It springs, however, from the serious religious feeling which pervades the book and which is centred upon the Quaker group of which Philip Hepburn is a member. There is a note of piety in most of Mrs. Gaskell's works. Occasionally as in the case of Bessy Higgins in *North and South* it is sentimentalized, and occasionally it is rather obtrusive, but it has to be recognized as a fundamental part of her vision of life.

Sylvia's Lovers is important most of all for the ways in which it marks the advance that Mrs. Gaskell had made on anything she had written before. This is particularly noticeable in two directions. One is in her sense of inter-relationships between characters and in the way in which she conveys the impression of the characters developing under her hand. The other is in the power with which she suggests the influence of external forces on the lives of her people. It might be said that both these are noticeable in her other novels, and in a sense it may be conceded that they are ; that, for example, Margaret Hale undergoes a development as a result of living in Milton and that the life and death of John Barton is very much governed by the pressure of external forces. But in *Sylvia's Lovers* there is a difference.

¹ Knutsford edition, p. 524.

Whereas Margaret Hale changed with her surroundings yet remained essentially the same character, Sylvia Robson really develops from a rather flighty girl through various stages into an embittered wife. Again, whereas the external forces in *Mary Barton* and *North and South* are large and make the people what they are, in *Sylvia's Lovers* the force is in itself smaller, that of the incident rather than of the whole social setting, and its significance is not in itself alone but in the violent reaction which it causes in association with certain predispositions in the character who becomes involved in it. One such example is the attack on the press-gang, where opportunity collaborates with Daniel Robson's eagerness, and the end of that moment of weakness is on a gallows at York. Again and more important there is the central fact of Philip Hepburn's concealment of his knowledge that Kinraid is not dead but taken by the press-gang. This action of Philip's also provides a fine example of Mrs. Gaskell's subtler study of feeling in this novel. He has been portrayed as a rather dull, unattractive character beside the dashing Kinraid. That is how Sylvia regards them and *we* agree with her. Not unnaturally Philip is jealous, but he acts as he does not out of jealousy alone. As we recognize and as we are reminded right up to the last meeting before he disappears, he was thinking also of Sylvia and of the stories surrounding Kinraid and "his false, fickle ways".¹ In a manner again reminiscent of Hardy the seed of disaster lies dormant while Philip prospers. He is allowed to profit from his concealment, to marry Sylvia and to be happy. A daughter is born to them, and a chapter ends: "Perhaps on that day Philip reached the zenith of his life's happiness." The next chapter, entitled "Evil Omens", begins: "The first step in Philip's declension happened in this way."² Disaster is inescapable. After he has concealed his knowledge (notice how the concealment of an important fact is a recurrent topic in Mrs. Gaskell's work—it occurs in *Ruth*, *North and South*, *Sylvia's Lovers* and *Wives and Daughters*) and is profiting by it, Philip becomes a more, not less, attractive character, thereby preparing for the downfall that is to come. He is not, however, allowed to appear faultless. Alongside his very deep kindness, for

¹ Knutsford edition, p. 403.

² *Ibid.* p. 372-3.

instance, there is often an insensitive streak, a quality that results in his asking Hester Rose, the girl who has quietly loved him for years, to be bridesmaid to Sylvia at her request. There is an obtuseness of feeling here that would be incredible, were it not completely in character.

There is something more to be said about Mrs. Gaskell's treatment of external pressures in this novel. The chief of these pressures is represented by the presence of the press-gang. It constitutes a blighting influence on the life of Monkshaven, and this comes out particularly in her description of the whaling fleet's return, of the mixture and conflict of gladness to be home and foreboding as to what may happen, of the difference between past happy years of streets "full of blue-jackets, rolling along with merry words and open hearts" and the present where "men dodged about their daily business with hatred and suspicion in their eyes".¹ Mrs. Gaskell is now confident enough to let her description make its own impact. The press-gang is condemned implicitly; there is no recourse to comment as there would have been in earlier novels. Because this is so and the reader is allowed to formulate his own conclusions about the press-gang, the part which the gang plays in the death of Daniel Robson and the whole tragic tangle in the lives of Philip Hepburn and Sylvia Robson appears all the more heinous. In the handling of incident, the interplay of outside pressures and personal inclination, the development and interaction of character, in these and other ways *Sylvia's Lovers* is at once a more complex and more controlled novel than any that had gone before.

Mrs. Gaskell's last novel, *Wives and Daughters*, has enjoyed a minor revival of later years. Rosamond Lehmann in her introduction to the Chiltern Library edition (1948) made great claims for it, considering it a "neglected Victorian classic".² It exhibits a complexity and control similar to that found in *Sylvia's Lovers* and, in addition, it displays a finer sensibility. It is this last quality which makes this novel alone worthy of the comparison that has sometimes been made of Mrs. Gaskell with Jane Austen. It is possible to compare. Phoebe Browning in a flutter about some detail of local gossip is not unlike Miss Bates; Molly

¹ Knutsford edition, p. 265.

² Title of article in *Penguin New Writing*.

Gibson is as upright and as helpful as Fanny Price, but fortunately she is rather more spirited; and if there is a fictional character more exasperating than Mrs. Norris, it is Clare, Mrs. Kirkpatrick, later Mrs. Gibson. Mrs. Gaskell's fine sensibility comes out well in her delineation and judgement of characters such as these. The comparison is only valid, however, to this limited extent. The wit, irony and crisp lucidity, that characterize Jane Austen, are, if not entirely absent, yet present only in flashes in Mrs. Gaskell's work.

In one respect, however, *Wives and Daughters* might be said to surpass the novel of Jane Austen. Both deal with the society of small places, but within that type of society Mrs. Gaskell treats a wider range. She includes the aristocracy and the servants, and about all the strata of society with which she concerns herself there is a remarkable authenticity. One thinks of Lord Cumnor, sufficiently confident of his rank to enable him to establish a kind of familiarity, albeit a special kind, with his tenants, of Lady Cumnor, more remote, standing more upon rank and protocol, of Lady Harriet, eccentric and outspoken, of these at one level, and at others the middle-class ladies of Hollingford, the Miss Brownings and Mrs. Goodenoughs, the successors of the ladies of Cranford, or the Gibson servants, or the old dying labourer on the Hamley estate. Mrs. Gaskell was always able to suggest the background of place and people, but in her last novel she excelled herself. In her novels about industrial and social conditions the background itself was strong, a potent element in the development of the theme and the unwinding of the story. In *Wives and Daughters*, however, we are hearing of apparently quiet lives in a quiet place. It is at once correspondingly more difficult and yet more necessary to provide an effective background.

The lives are only apparently quiet. Beneath the veneer of polite middle-class society Mrs. Gaskell works out a fairly complex history of personal relationships, of Doctor Gibson and his new wife, the former governess to the Cumnor family at the Towers and widow of Mr. Kirkpatrick, of the strains between this vulgar, calculating, self-seeking, self-pitying, unperceptive, superficial, hypocritical, snobbish, destructive woman and her

long-suffering step-daughter, innocent, kindly Molly Gibson, of the contrast between Molly and her step-sister Cynthia Kirkpatrick, who cannot be better described than in Miss Lehmann's words, "worldly yet simple in her tastes, cynical but swiftly responsive to moral goodness ; incapable of deep love yet warm, generous and disinterested in some of her affections ; a prevaricator, yet truthful ; unprincipled and secretive, yet unusually honest and self-critical".¹ Characters like these are Mrs. Gaskell's greatest, and worthy to rank among the great in English fiction.

The relations of Molly and her step-mother form one main topic in the novel, and Cynthia's ability to attract the attention of men forms the other. Her mother tries to entice Osborne Hamley to her, but she does not know that Osborne is secretly married. This secret marriage, and indeed the whole of Osborne's character is, by the way, the most unsatisfactory part of the book. When Mrs. Gibson hears, however, (or rather overhears) that Osborne is likely to die at any moment of heart disease, she immediately switches her proxy attentions to his younger brother Roger, and though Cynthia is not very enthusiastic, eventually an engagement is arranged. Cynthia's unwillingness proceeds from some mysterious association with the Cumnors' land agent Preston. It later turns out that he secured a private arrangement from her on the strength of a loan she had been compelled to ask of him. In the last chapters of the book Cynthia is married to a London barrister, to Mrs. Kirkpatrick a much finer "catch" than a dull scholar like Roger Hamley. She would have considered that word "catch" vulgar, but it exactly describes how she regarded the whole matrimonial business.²

On one occasion Cynthia tells Molly : " I've never lived with people with such a high standard of conduct before ; and I don't quite know how to behave." ³ With Cynthia this is a regrettable shortcoming, but it shows her mother up for what she really is. " Mr. Gibson had been compelled to face and acknowledge the fact, that the wife he had chosen had a very different

¹ Introduction to the Chiltern Library edition, p. 13.

² Cf. Knutsford edition, pp. 743-4.

³ *Ibid.* p. 475.

standard of conduct from that which he had upheld all his life, and had hoped to have seen inculcated in his daughter." Mrs. Gibson's words at the end would have come more appropriately from her husband: "One learns the baseness of human nature with advancing years."¹ But he need not have feared for Molly. To the very speech in which these words occur she gave such an answer as showed that her standards were true enough: "All sorts of thoughts cross one's mind—it depends upon whether one gives them harbour and encouragement."²

The editor of *The Cornhill Magazine*, Frederick Greenwood, was right in the concluding remarks which he affixed to the novel when he said that "in this novel of 'Wives and Daughters', in the exquisite little story that preceded it, 'Cousin Phillis' [I have regrettably had no time to speak of Mrs. Gaskell's short stories nor of her *Life of Charlotte Brontë*], and in 'Sylvia's Lovers', . . . Mrs. Gaskell had within these five years (1860-5) started upon a new career with all the freshness of youth".³ In these last novels there is a new technical control, a deeper investigation of individual behaviour, a fresh awareness of the intensity of human passions. Of her it may certainly be said that she died in the fullness of her powers.

I would not attempt to gloss over her failings, her prolixity, moralising and occasional tendency to melodrama, for instance, but it is her achievement that really matters. Her freshness of outlook, clarity of vision, intense sympathy with human nature, upright yet gracious moral sense, all these make her an attractive writer to read. She had her limitations both in the depth and extent of her vision and also in her technical powers as a novelist, but it can be said of her now as it was in the remarks at the end of *Wives and Daughters*, that she was a wise and kindly woman. To this I would only add that, although she may not be a major novelist, she is certainly a major minor novelist.

¹ Cf. Knutsford edition p. 448.

² Ibid. p. 744.

³ Ibid. p. 758.

APPENDIX

GASKELL MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL IN MANCHESTER

1. *In the John Rylands Library*

English Manuscripts 726-34, presented to the Library by the executors of Miss M. E. (Meta) Gaskell (Mrs. Gaskell's daughter) include :

English MS. 727. *Letters of W. S. Landor*. 5 items, c. 1854-8, etc. Nos. 1 and 2 to Mrs. Gaskell, No. 3 to Rev. W. Gaskell, No. 4 a MS. poem "To the author of *Mary Barton*".

English MS. 729. *Letters from Charles Dickens to Mrs. Gaskell*. 30 items, 1850-62. All to Mrs. Gaskell except Nos. 14, 18, and 30, which are addressed to the Rev. W. Gaskell.

English MS. 730-1 : *Letters to Mrs. Gaskell and the Rev. W. Gaskell*. 113 items. I (730). 1-58, A-K. c. 1847-68 ; II (731). 59-113, L-W. c. 1840-67.

English MS. 732-4. *Miscellaneous letters*. 208 items. Evidently Mrs. Gaskell's collection of autographs.

On all the above see R. D. Waller's *Letters addressed to Mrs. Gaskell by celebrated contemporaries*, Manchester, 1935.

(English MS. 726 is the original manuscript, much corrected, of Dickens's *A child's dream of a star*, and English MS. 728 contains 3 items by Thackeray.)

Other Gaskell items in the Rylands collections are :

English MS. 341/134. Letter from Mrs. Gaskell to Mrs. Scott. [? 1860].

English MS. 343/1b. Letter from her to an unidentified correspondent. 4 June [no year].

English MS. 343/1a. Photograph of Mrs. Gaskell, apparently the last she had taken.

English MS. 876. *The Grey Woman*. 1861. 72 ff. Original MS. with author's corrections.

English MS. 877. *Wives and Daughters*. c. 1864-6. 920 ff. Original MS. with numerous corrections.

2. *In the Central Library*

MS. 823.894 Z1. *Crowley Castle*. c. 1863. 45 ff. Original MS.

MS. 823.81 B7. One page from the MS. of the *Life of Charlotte Brontë* (described in J. A. Green's *A Bibliographical Guide to the Gaskell Collection in the Moss Side Library*, 1911, as from "an unnamed manuscript").

MS. 928.23 G47. Volume containing :

Letters to Mr. (?) and Mrs. Schwabe. 5 items.

Miscellaneous letters of Mrs. Gaskell. 6 items.

Fragment—amusing description of a young French girl.

Copy of two stanzas from *In Memoriam* for Mrs. G. L. Banks's collection of autographs.

Letter of Rev. Patrick Brontë to Rev. W. Gaskell. 23 July 1856. With references to Mrs. Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Brontë*.

Letter of Mrs. Gaskell to (?) Ellen Nussey. July 1855. Concerning the *Life of Charlotte Brontë*.

Copy of a letter of Charles Dickens to Mrs. Gaskell. 6 November 1852.

Letter of Charles Dickens to Mrs. Gaskell. 6 December 1852.

Both these refer to Mrs. Gaskell's *The Old Nurse's Story* for the Christmas number of *Household Words*, 1852.

Letter of Mrs. Gaskell to Sir John Potter, 16 August [1852]. Contains a reference to the murder in *Mary Barton*.

3. In the University Library

Autograph letters of Charlotte Brontë to Mrs. Gaskell. c. 1850-4. 21 letters to Mrs. Gaskell: 1 from C. B. to Polly Taylor, 4 September 1848, apparently forwarded from New Zealand to Mrs. Gaskell in 1856; 1 from M. Heger to Mrs. Gaskell with extracts from letters of C. B.; 1 from Patrick Brontë to Mrs. Gaskell, 2 April 1857; 2 exercises in French by Charlotte Brontë and 1 by Emily Brontë.

Letters of Charlotte Brontë's father to Mrs. Gaskell, referring to the latter's *Life of Charlotte Brontë*, 1855-60. 19 items (16 letters to Mrs. Gaskell, 1 to Rev. W. Gaskell, 1 copy of a letter to Mrs. Gaskell, a memorandum of facts for the *Life*).

Life of Charlotte Brontë. 1855-6. 685 ff., with extra leaves inserted Original MS. with author's corrections.

The Crooked Branch. 1859. 65 ff. Original MS.

Letter of Mrs. Gaskell to Mrs. Heald [n.d.].

4. At the Unitarian College

8 letters of Mrs. Gaskell: 1, imperf., to Mr. Steinthal [? Rev. S. A. Steinthal], respecting homes for factory girls [n.d.]; 1 to an unnamed correspondent, concerning arrangements for Mr. Gaskell to visit Palestine [n.d.]; 5 to Dr. Beard, respecting the release of Mr. Gaskell from his various employments to take a holiday [1863]; 1 to Dr. Beard about placing a girl in a boarding school, 18 Dec. [no year].

THE PSALM TRANSLATION OF HEINRICH VON MÜGELN

By F. W. RATCLIFFE, M.A., Ph.D.

HEINRICH von Mügeln's translation of the Psalms with the commentary of Nicholaus de Lyra still awaits publication. It remains perhaps the least well-known and the least well documented of his works. This is in itself curious, for if Mügeln comes to mind primarily as a fourteenth-century poet, as a *Meistersinger*, his poetic work has yet to be assessed as an outstanding contribution to late medieval German literature. Yet his Psalm translation, extending from the earliest preserved copy of 1372 down through numerous manuscript copies to its printing in 1475 and 1504, was an immensely important contribution to pre-Lutheran Bible translation history in German-speaking Europe, to say nothing of its linguistic significance as a document of that still largely uncharted period of German philological history, Early New High German. This article sets out to remedy in some measure this deficiency, by reviewing the manuscript situation and considering briefly the translation as a pre-Lutheran and ENHG phenomenon.

There are few positive facts about Mügeln's life beyond the works which are left to us and even here there are few dates. The early postulations of Schröer¹ and, in particular, Helm,² still provide the essential background to the accepted account of Mügeln's life and works in the literary histories. The recent works of Stackmann³ are the first real steps forward since those earliest investigations. His examination of Mügeln's treatment

¹ K. J. Schröer, *Sitzungsberichte d. K. Akad. d. Wissensch., Phil.-hist. Kl.*, lv (1867), 451-8.

² K. Helm, "Zu Heinrich von Mügeln", in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, xxi (1896), 240-7.

³ K. Stackmann, *Der Spruchdichter Heinrich von Mügeln: Vorstudien zur Erkenntnis seiner Individualität* (Heidelberg, 1958), and *Die kleineren Dichtungen Heinrichs von Mügeln herausgegeben von K. Stackmann* (Berlin, Teilbde. 1-3, 1959, in progress).

of his literary inheritance, the MHG lyric and *Spruchdichtung*, is rewarding. He points to the key position occupied by Mügeln in this neglected period of German literary history and, in consequence, to the significance of his work in the understanding of the MHG lyric in its completeness.

The Psalm translation was one of Mügeln's last works. There is uncertainty as to its exact date, but it most likely preceded his translation of the *Valerius Maximus* of 1369 and followed the German version of the *Ungarnchronik*.¹ It was produced then between c. 1361 and 1369,² and not—as was still being maintained in at least one reference work³ in the last decade—in 1371. The work on which his reputation as a Mastersinger rests is thought to belong to the earlier part of his life. The best known of his poetic works, *Der meide kranz*, dates, it is postulated, from the year of the Golden Bull, 1356. His last two patrons, Rudolf, Archduke of Austria, and Hertnit of Pettau, indicate Austrian, Viennese circles for his later years and it is interesting that the majority of the manuscripts containing the Psalm translation originated in the South German area. His early life was doubtless spent nearer to his own place of origin, that is, Mügeln in the the district of Meissen in Upper Saxony.

An account of the research into the non-literary works of Mügeln is one of repeated postponements. Even on the literary side Stackmann's researches must be considered long overdue. The hopeful note sounded by J. Klapper⁴ in his review of two dissertations in 1938 is only now approaching fulfilment. Apart from an article by Bergeler⁵ shortly after his dissertation, the only material published dealing with the Psalm translation has occurred in general works on German medieval studies, and none of

¹ H. Ludwig, *Heinrichs von Mügeln Ungarnchronik* (Berlin, 1938). Stackmann, op. cit. p. 11, indicates that an extensive survey of Mügeln's life is being prepared by Ludwig.

² The dating of the translation will be discussed in another article.

³ H. O. Burger, ed., *Annalen der deutschen Literatur* (Stuttgart, 1951/2), p. 228.

⁴ *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, lvii, 98-103. He reviews Ludwig's work and A. Bergeler, *Das deutsche Bibelwerk Heinrichs von Mügeln* (Berlin, 1938). He notes too the misfortunes which have attended the research into Mügeln.

⁵ A. Bergeler, "Kleine Schriften Heinrichs von Mügeln" in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, lxxx, 177-84.

these can claim to add much to our knowledge of Mügelin's translation as found recorded in the pre-war *Verfasserlexikon* of Stammler.¹

None of the published work relating to the translation advances in effect either a critical or a diplomatic edition. The early contribution of Khull² is self-evident from the title. It is a substantial if not completely accurate word list compiled from the Psalm text and commentary as found in the earliest preserved copy, the Rein Codex 204. Schönbach's³ contribution is almost entirely negative and misleading; some aspects of it are referred to later. Bergeler's is the outstanding contribution, but he was led into fields which really go far beyond the immediate translation and the all-important edition. He contended that Mügelin not only translated the Psalms with Lyra's commentary, but that he was responsible for other Biblical commentaries, perhaps extending over the whole Bible. His dissertation aims to prove this. It need only be noted here that his hypothesis appears to have been accepted by many scholars, even though lack of editions of the texts compared by Bergeler obviates any real investigation of his claims. The most important published work, therefore, towards an edition remains that by W. Walther⁴ and H. Vollmer,⁵ both general works, but both indispensable in considering the Mügelin translation.

Mügelin's choice of Lyra is in keeping with the immense reputation and influence of this Franciscan in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. He was an important scholastic to whom Reuchlin, Erasmus and Luther all refer. His insistence on the literal meaning of the text, his knowledge of and reference to the Hebrew text, his fourfold interpretations of the Scriptures, these are among the features which make his lengthy commentaries on

¹ W. Stammler, *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters : Verfasserlexikon* Bd. ii (Berlin, 1936). Cf. also post-war supplement, 1955, p. 348.

² F. Khull, *Beiträge zum mittelhochdeutschen Wörterbuche* (Graz, 1884).

³ A. E. Schönbach, "Miscellen aus Grazer Handschriften" in *Mittheilungen des Historischen Vereins für Steiermark*, xlvii. 38-48.

⁴ W. Walther, *Die deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalters* (Braunschweig, 1889-92).

⁵ H. Vollmer, "Die Psalmenverdeutschung von den ersten Anfängen bis Luther", in *Bibel und deutsche Kultur : Veröffentlichungen des deutschen Bibel-Archivs in Hamburg*, vols. ii and iii (Potsdam, 1932-3).

the Bible a substantial landmark of the fourteenth century. The Psalter appeared first in 1322, then again in 1326.¹ Lyra died in 1349. His contribution to late medieval theology and to the whole pre-Reformation scene has still to be evaluated in its entirety.

Mügeln's translation is a work of quite considerable substance. In most of the preserved copies we find simply psalm text interspersed in the *postilla*, but there is evidence that originally another continuous translation of the Psalms preceded that within the *postilla*, differing from it in varying degrees. This would be in accordance with many of the printed copies of the Latin Lyra at least, where a continuous Bible text usually occurs. The presence of such a text in the Rein Codex 204 was first noted by Walther as appearing for the first fifteen Psalms. It has been ignored by later investigators except Schönbach, who denied that it could stem from Mügeln. Apart from its importance as a second translation of the Psalms, it is a particularly important factor in establishing a stemma. Further validity is added to Walther's suggestion by recording that it reappears in the Rein Codex 204 for Psalms 73-6. Moreover, my examination of these nineteen Psalms in the other preserved copies has revealed distinct traces of the influence of this continuous Psalm text. This additional text, which is perceptible in the very earliest as in the very latest copies, is not to be confused with continuous translations for all the Psalms found in some later copies. These are largely reconstructed from the text interspersed in the *postilla* and they reflect the early complete translation only when this has been substituted in the body of the text for the commentary translation.

Beyond this there is little to note about the outward appearance of the translation. Each Psalm and commentary, with the exception of Psalms 1 and 134, is preceded by a short preface relating the name of the Psalmist, the significance of the Psalm and such like. The preface to Psalm 1 is different, since it is clearly introductory to the whole.² The lengthy passage preceding

¹ Cf. P. Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII^e siècle*, tom. 2 (Paris, 1933), 218. "In psalmos (1^e édit. : av. 1322 ; 2^e édit. 1326.)"

² Since there has been much discussion about the type of preface to the Psalter actually supplied by Mügeln, this will be discussed, along with the continuous Psalm text mentioned earlier, in a separate article. Some idea of the problems involved emerge later in this article in the paragraphs on the Graz MS.

Psalms 134 is called a *Chûrtze Auzlegung* and, in effect, it recapitulates and interprets Psalms 119-33, a popular medieval selection like the Penitential Psalms. It follows the same pattern as the commentary generally.

The first essential is to record the number of preserved copies. The most complete list published hitherto is to be found in Bergeler, but unfortunately it contains a number of errors. Prior to Bergeler lists appeared in Walther and Vollmer. The present list includes references to these three works.

1. Basel Univ. Bibl. A. III. 26. 15th cent. (Vollmer III, p. 265 ; Bergeler, p. 2.)
2. Berlin Staatsbibl. MS. Germ. fol. 43. 1435. (Walther, p. 593 ; V. III, p. 265 ; B. p. 2.)
3. Berlin Staatsbibl. MS. Germ. fol. 655. 1466. (W. p. 593 ; V. III, p. 265 ; B. p. 2.)
4. Berlin Staatsbibl. MS. Germ. fol. 1145. 1472. (V. II, p. 7 ; B. p. 3.)
5. Berlin Staatsbibl. MS. Germ. fol. 1146. 15th cent. (V. II, p. 7 ; B. p. 3.)
6. Berlin Staatsbibl. MS. Germ. fol. 1310. 1470. (V. III, p. 265 ; B. p. 3.)
7. Berlin Staatsbibl. MS. Germ. fol. 1320. 1426. (V. II, p. 7 ; B. p. 2.)
8. Donaueschingen Hofbibl. 187. 1455. (W. p. 593 ; V. III, p. 265 ; B. p. 3.)
9. Freiburg i. B. Univ. Bibl. MS. 469. 15th cent. (B. p. 3.)
10. Graz Univ. Bibl. 194. 15th cent. (B. p. 3.)
11. Hamburg Staats- u. Univ. Bibl. Cod. Theol. 1010. 15th cent. (V. III, p. 4 ; B. p. 3.)
12. Heidelberg Univ. Bibl. Pal. Germ. 32. 1470. (W. p. 595 ; V. III, p. 265 ; B. p. 3.)
13. Ilfeld Bibl. d. Klosterschule. (W. p. 595 ; V. III, p. 265 ; B. p. 3.)
14. Klosterneuburg MS. 11. 1437. (B. p. 3.)
15. Klosterneuburg MS. 593. 15th cent. (B. p. 3.)
16. Leipzig Univ. Bibl. MSc. 1502. 15th cent. (W. p. 593 ; V. II, p. 9 ; B. p. 3.)
17. Merseburg Archiv d. Domkapitels MS. 45. late 14th/early 15th cent. (B. p. 3.)
18. Merseburg Archiv d. Domkapitels MS. 46. 15th cent. (B. p. 3.)
19. Munich Staatsbibl. Cod. Germ. 506. 1470. (W. p. 593 ; V. II, p. 11 ; B. p. 3.)
20. Munich Staatsbibl. Cod. Germ. 525. 1473. (W. p. 593 ; V. II, p. 11 ; B. p. 3.)
21. Munich Staatsbibl. Cod. Germ. 526. 1424. (W. p. 592 ; V. II, p. 11 ; B. p. 3.)
22. Munich Staatsbibl. Cod. Germ. 527. 15th cent. (W. p. 595 ; V. II, p. 11 ; B. p. 3.)
23. Munich Staatsbibl. Cod. Germ. 3894. 1458. (W. p. 593 ; V. II, p. 11 ; B. p. 3.)
24. Munich Staatsbibl. Cod. Germ. 5064. 1442. (W. p. 593 ; V. II, p. 12 ; B. p. 3.)
25. Rein b. Graz Stiftsbibl. Cod. 204. 1372. (W. p. 588 ; V. II, p. 12 ; B. p. 3.)

26. Salzburg Studienbibl. M. III. 20 (old sig. VI. B. 20). c. 1400. (*W.* p. 592; *V.* II, p. 12; *B.* p. 3.)
27. Schaffhausen Stadtbibl. MSc. Gen. 25. 15th cent.
28. Schlägl Stiftsbibl. Cpl. 65 old, 454. a. 65. new sig. 1478. (*B.* p. 3.)
29. Schottenstift, Vienna, Stiftsbibl. 209 (old sig. 206). 1413. (*V.* III, p. 266; *B.* p. 3.)
30. Solothurn Zentralbibl. S.I. 144. 15th cent.
31. Stuttgart Würt. Landesbibl. H. B. II, Bibl. 29. 1430. (*V.* II, p. 13; *B.* p. 4.)
32. Vatican Bibl. Apost. Ross. 687. 1405. (*B.* p. 3.)
33. Vienna Nationalbibl. Pal. Vind. Cod. 2671. 1456. (*W.* p. 593; *V.* II, p. 14; *B.* p. 3.)
34. Vienna Nationalbibl. Pal. Vind. Cod. 2783. 14th cent. (*W.* p. 591; *V.* II, p. 14; *B.* p. 3.)
35. Vienna Nationalbibl. Pal. Vind. Cod. 2847. 15th cent. (*W.* p. 595; *V.* II, p. 14; *B.* p. 3.)

PRINTED COPIES

36. Strassburg (?) 1475. Attributed by the British Museum to the unknown printer of the *Henricus Ariminensis*. (*W.* p. 595; *V.* II, p. 12; *B.* p. 3.)
37. Worms 1504. Printed by Peter Drache. (*W.* p. 595; *B.* p. 4.)

Other manuscript copies less important for an edition

38. St. Florian b. Linz Stiftsbibl. MS. XI. 68. 15th cent. (*W.* p. 595; *V.* III, p. 265; *B.* p. 4.)
39. Stuttgart Würt. Landesbibl. Cod. Bibl. 4°. 17. 15th cent. (*W.* p. 595; *V.* II, p. 13; *B.* p. 3.)
40. Würzburg Univ. Bibl. Mp. th. q. 67. Early 15th cent. (*V.* III, p. 9; *B.* p. 4.)

It has been possible to examine and in part collate almost all these copies. Where this has not been the case, I have been able from information already available to assign those inaccessible with some accuracy to the group of manuscripts within the whole to which they belong. It is not my intention, however, to enter into the very complex relationships of the various copies here and now.¹ It is sufficient to note at this stage that the Rein Codex 204 is not only the oldest preserved copy, but from the stemma constructed, textually the most reliable and nearest to the source.

Other manuscripts have been suggested as copies of the Mügeln translation which are not in this list. Vollmer² includes "Leipzig Universitätsbibl. MS. 59", but this is refuted by Bergeler,³ who assigns it to a different source. I hope to verify this

¹ Reference to textual relationships is from time to time unavoidable. The stemma will appear in the introduction to my edition.

² *Op. cit.* II, p. 9.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 6.

later. Another, Stuttgart Würt. Landesbibl. MS. H.B. II. 28 is described by Vollmer¹ as having some connection with the Mügeln Psalter. Like nos. 38-40 it gives simply Psalm text without commentary, but while the connections of these with the Mügeln text can easily be seen, those of this manuscript are so distant as to render its consideration in an edition of the work unnecessary. A manuscript fragment excluded here is fully described and in part published by A. Schönbach.² It formed the end-paper to the *incunabulum* 188/2D of the Innsbruck University Library. It contains Psalm 99 and part of Psalm 100, appearing identified as Mügeln's translation first in Bergeler.

Bergeler³ queries the existence of a manuscript at Rostock: "Früher Privatbesitz des Professors Walther. Wo befindet sich die Handschrift jetzt?" It is referred to by Walther⁴ himself somewhat casually, to illustrate how many copies of a work might be extant in private or public hands, unknown to those interested. He makes no mention of it when actually discussing the translation, as Schönbach notes.⁵ According to the Librarian of Rostock University it has never belonged to their manuscript collection, nor could it be traced at Rostock elsewhere. Some seventy years have elapsed since Walther mentioned it. It could already be included among those listed, having found its way into a large collection. Walther, omitting it when discussing the translation, can hardly have set much store by it.

The last three copies in the list, nos. 38-40, are described as less important for an edition. They comprise merely a continuous Psalm text, one reconstructed from the text within the commentary. By dispensing completely with the exegesis they have undergone a very considerable change, a change tantamount to an edition. Since the commentary is often so illuminating in revealing textual relationships, it is obviously more difficult and less important to fit these abbreviated copies into the main picture with the same degree of accuracy. As far as establishing the

¹ Op. cit. II, p. 13.

² *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, xxxv. 225-7. It is significant in view of Schönbach's confident appraisal of the respective merits of the Graz and Rein MSS. discussed below, that he does not recognize this fragment as deriving from the Mügeln translation.

³ Op. cit. p. 3.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 709.

⁵ Op. cit. p. 46.

text is concerned, they play a very subsidiary rôle. No. 40,¹ dated hitherto on palaeographical evidence alone as of the second half of the fourteenth century, has been revised to a later date. The content and the stemma make the earlier date suspect. The Keeper of Manuscripts at Würzburg considers that the palaeography would allow dating up to the first third of the fifteenth century.

The inaccuracies in Bergeler's account of the manuscripts need some comment. Apart from an obvious error for no. 9 (Bergeler Freiburg UB. 468) he cites a manuscript "Stuttgart H.B. VI. 24 (aus Weingarten)" which neither derives from Weingarten nor contains MHG. Psalm texts. This must refer to H.B. II. 28 which belongs to the Weingarten collection, is quoted by Vollmer,² but which, as already noted, is only distantly related to the translation.³ Further, page 4, Bergeler states: "Berührungen mit dem Text Mügeln hat Würzburg U.B. 67 . . . der oberdeutsche Psalter Stuttgart Landesbibliothek H.B. II. 29, a. 1430, ferner die HS. XI. 61 in der Stiftsbibliothek zu St. Florian." Of these, Würzburg is in the words of Vollmer⁴ "zu Heinrichs von Mügeln Text gehörig" and is in fact related to the translation in much the same way as Stuttgart Cod. Bibl. 4°17, which Bergeler lists as a copy. Both manuscripts provide simply a continuous Psalm text. The second of these three, Stuttgart H.B. II. 29, is not only early, but comprises a good copy of the translation as contained in the Rein Codex 204. Finally, the St. Florian HS. XI. 61. must refer to HS. XI. 68, the signature cited earlier by both Walther and Vollmer.⁵

The appearance of the Schaffhausen⁶ and Solothurn manuscripts emphasizes that there may be more copies still to come. A circular requesting notification of copies in German (?) libraries,

¹ Cf. A. Reuss, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, iii. 443.

² Op. cit., II, p. 13.

³ W. Stammeler, *Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss* (Berlin, 1954), Bd. ii. p. 1614, cites a Stuttgart manuscript Bibl. fol. 24 containing a German translation of Lyra. The brief passage quoted from the preface resembles strongly prefatory matter found in one group of Mügeln copies. This manuscript I hope to examine later.

⁴ Op. cit. III, p. 9.

⁵ Walther, op. cit. p. 595; Vollmer, op. cit. III, p. 265.

⁶ First recorded by W. Stammeler, *Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss*, Bd. ii, p. 1426.

in view of a critical text being prepared by K. Burdach and V. Dollmayr, was issued in 1910. A clear obstacle to identification of such copies in the absence of any published edition is the complete lack of details of the translator in all the preserved copies but the Rein Codex 204, where Mügeln is named in the colophon.¹ The most recently identified copy, the Solothurn MS.—both “new” copies, it will be noted, are preserved in Switzerland—has not been recorded previously in works directed to the Mügeln translation, but it is cited by Stegmüller.² Against these discoveries must be set the loss, temporary it is hoped, of three hitherto established copies, nos. 11, 13 and 16, all having disappeared in the Russian zone of Germany.³ It must be added that from the descriptions of two of these manuscripts already available, the edition will not suffer unduly. It is clear to which group of manuscripts no. 11 belongs and even possible to suggest further more detailed relations within the group. This is not true of no. 13, but it drew from Walther a description of a most defective copy.⁴ Since efforts are still being made to trace these copies, I am hoping to give further information about them in the edition. No. 16 may well be restored when the revision of the Leipzig University manuscript holdings is completed. Fortunately, Walther⁵ comments extensively on this manuscript.

Among the available copies it should be noted that no. 1 provides but half of the translation, i.e. Psalm 1-74, an important point previously overlooked. The other half is not at Basel, nor did it ever belong to the former owners of the first part, the monks of the neighbouring Carthusian monastery, according to their manuscript catalogue, which is also preserved in the University Library at Basel. No. 20 bears the name of Hans Stupff no less than four times and is curious for the dating. The scribe writes clearly “m^occcc^o und im lxxiiij jare”. Below this Stupff records :

¹ “. . . und dar nach von dem getrewen Mann Hainreichen vom Mügellein in dewtzh gepraht ist. . . .”

² F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, tom. iv (Matriti, 1954), p. 60, no. 5857.

³ The Hamburg MS. was “evacuated” to the East during the war.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 595, “vorne und hinten defekt, auch sind manche Blätter hinausgeschnitten”.

⁵ Op. cit. p. 593.

“Hanns Stupffen ist das geschriben im LXVj jar.” Walther comments :¹ “So dürfte doch entweder der Kopist mit seiner Zahl 1473 oder der Besitzer mit 1466 ein Versehen begangen haben.” Stupff states merely LXVj : 1566 would not be impossible. As this is a common enough occurrence in early printed books, the scribe’s dating cannot seriously be questioned.

Walther² makes the obvious relevant remarks about no. 22 with its complex scribal character. This manuscript contains two different works : a continuous Latin-German Psalter without commentary, quite unrelated to the Mügeln translation, and the Mügeln translation. The latter is in two parts : first come Psalm 77-150 in the same hand as the unrelated work preceding it, then Psalm 1-77, v. 45, itself written by two hands (Ps. 1-70, v. 11, Ps. 70, v. 12-77, v. 45). Walther observes that the two passages by the one hand have been brought together, so that the first part of the Mügeln Psalter follows the second. He does not, however, comment on the contents of the two parts of the Mügeln Psalter. In fact, the textual examination revealed that, as the duplication of the Psalm 77, vv. 1-45 suggests, we are dealing with a made-up copy, with two copies of one translation bound together to make a whole. As it is, though two different copies are involved, they do belong to the same group within the stemma.

The Merseburg MS. 45 provides a second example of a made-up copy. Three hands are involved in this manuscript. The first two give us an extraordinarily important copy, one not only very close to the Rein Codex 204 but also in the East Middle German dialect of the area where Mügeln was born. Despite his later sojourn in South Bavarian dialect areas, he might be expected to write his own dialect. Unfortunately this copy ends with Psalm 105. The remainder of this manuscript attempts to complete the translation by including text from another copy. This part too is important. It offers us the version of the translation which seven other manuscripts contain and among these it occupies again a key-position. A much more significant dating of the first and most important part has been possible than the earlier vague fifteenth century. A palaeographical examination of a microfilm copy pointed to a period not later than 1420.

¹ Op. cit. p. 593.

² Op. cit. p. 595.

The archivist in Merseburg has confirmed that the arms of *Domppropst* Peter Sparnow (d. 1429) on the first leaf date it at least prior to his death. A comparison of this hand with other documents in the Merseburg Library would allow a dating from the mid-fourteenth century. Other important features, not relevant to this brief survey, endow this manuscript with an importance never suspected before, apart from adding, like no. 22, yet another partially preserved copy for inclusion in the stemma.¹

As the only manuscript ever suggested as an earlier and better copy of the translation than the Rein Codex 204, no. 10 is significant. Schönbach² dated it in the second half of the fourteenth century. A comparison of a very brief selection of vocabulary from the Rein Codex 204 and the Graz manuscript is offered to support his suggestion and he concludes: "Es wird also, wenn man das Werk Heinrichs von Mügeln zutreffend würdigen will, eine alte gute Handschrift zugrunde gelegt werden müssen: zur Zeit am besten der Grazer Codex Nr. 194." The official description in the manuscript catalogue³ of the Graz University Library dated the manuscript as fourteenth century.

Bergeler⁴ gives the date as (?)1442 and this seems more appropriate, but Klapper⁵ still preferred the earlier dating. There are certain decorative features more in keeping with the fifteenth century, though the book hand with no traces of cursive could be either fourteenth or early fifteenth century. The Keeper of Manuscripts at Graz concurred in revising the dating. There is, however, much more substantial and reliable material within the manuscript, apart from evidence provided by a close textual comparison with the Rein Codex 204, that not only supports redating, but drastically revises Schönbach's appreciation. At Psalm 6 there is an abortive attempt to group together the penitential psalms along with the others from various parts of the psalter with

¹ I should like to express thanks to the Archivist in Merseburg, Herr Müller, for his help in dealing with my many queries and also to Dr. M. Tyson of Manchester University for his comments on this and other manuscripts.

² *Op. cit.* pp. 38 and 48.

³ *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz* (Leipzig, 1939).

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 3.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 103: "Die Grazer Psalmenkommentarhandschrift Nr. 194 stammt noch aus der 2. Hälfte des 14. Jhs. und ist St. Lambrecht Ursprungs."

consequent distortion of the normal psalm order. This rearrangement is unique among all known preserved copies. As a result the end of the psalter—"Hye hat der psalter ein ende"—is followed by ten psalms accidentally omitted earlier. Included along with the penitential psalms is Psalm 24. Later the scribe commences giving it again in its proper place only to break off abruptly. The flavour of originality about this error points to the scribe as the source of some of the irregularities at least.

That the source of the Graz copy was not perfect is made quite clear by one piece of conclusive evidence, which also invalidates Schönbach's contention that the Rein Codex 204 and the Graz manuscript are derived independently from the same source, "die entweder das Original Heinrichs von Mügeln selbst war, oder ihm ganz nahe stand".¹ Following Psalm 94 (which follows directly Psalm 91, Psalm 92 being omitted entirely) is found in the Graz manuscript: "Deus ultionum dominus. Das ist der xciiij psalm, *Deus Ultionum* und ist nicht gancz da und hebt sich an an dem vers, Quia non repellit dominus plebem."—The 93rd Psalm commences accordingly at v. 13 and passes on from Psalm 93 to Psalm 95. It is certain from this that the source of the Graz manuscript had the same imperfection. This was not in the source of the Rein Codex nor does it appear in any other copy known to me.

The importance of the preface to the Mügeln translation was mentioned earlier. In some copies, in addition to the usual Lyra preface to the Psalms, a defence of Bible translation into German is found, sometimes called the Mügeln *apologia*. It plays an important part in Bergeler's thesis about Mügeln's authorship of other Biblical glosses. A version of this preface occurs in the Graz manuscript and Schönbach discusses it in some detail. In not having it, the Rein Codex 204 forfeits, apparently, considerable prestige, a point which Schönbach is anxious to make. Since the preface in the Graz manuscript appears to him to be incomplete,² he assumes that the missing part would have provided details of the translator. An examination of other copies which

¹ Op. cit. p. 42.

² Op. cit. p. 47: "mit einem Satze wie: *Hie weredet . . . kann ein Werk nicht anfangen.*"

have the omitted part with no such details makes it most unlikely that such a postulation is valid. Moreover, to judge from the large capital with which it commences in the Graz manuscript, it is most likely that the beginning of the work is preserved. It gives the impression of a deliberate, planned beginning, either making good a fragmentary beginning, or much more likely in this manuscript, an innovation providing some sort of start to a preface that has been deliberately altered by the scribe. Schönbach's remarks that the decoration of the first leaf presupposes necessarily "ein anderes reichlich geschmücktes (Blatt)" to precede it are without any foundation. Rich decoration is not a feature of the Graz manuscript anywhere: on the contrary, it is a substantially plain manuscript.

Many more features which cannot be recorded here mark the Graz manuscript as an unreliable copy. The stemma reveals clearly that it belongs to a group in which nos. 32 and 29 are the oldest dated manuscripts. In this group it is outstanding for its irregular, unique readings, brought about by changes in the Graz manuscript from a common source and reminiscent of an unsuccessful attempt to edit the translation. Far from being the good copy portrayed by Schönbach, it is probably the least valuable text for assessing this work of Mügeln.

The longer preface already noted, with its vehement defence of translation into the vernacular, is considered a valuable document in the pre-Lutheran struggle for a German Bible. Such it is and it would be pleasing to accept with Bergeler, and others before him, that this most important evidence of the feeling on this subject, coming as it does from the Bohemian and South East German areas, derived from Mügeln. Since I hope to discuss this elsewhere, I will confine myself to the observation that if it does come from Mügeln the textual evidence offered by the Psalm translation precludes any consideration of its being issued with the Psalm translation itself. In other words it has been incorporated into some later copy of the translation from another work (? of Mügeln) by a scribe. My immediate concern lies not, however, with this preface, but with the translation of the Psalms, which the scribe of the Rein Codex, Johannes vom Hoff, attributes definitely to Mügeln. The forty extant copies, forty-two

from the made-up copies described, are themselves most important evidence that this work was a more than ordinary pre-Lutheran document. I do not believe that my list of extant copies will be the final one. What can be the reason for this extraordinary popularity?

The Latin Lyra text is extant in very large numbers. Writing before the war Bergeler referred to the numerous copies.¹ The complete commentary on the Bible was quite a favourite with early printers. In England Purvey² incorporated portions of Lyra's prologue into his own work. In Germany Reuchlin revered him as a teacher and Luther was well acquainted with his works.³ It may be simply as Miss Deanesly⁴ wrote in 1920: "Von Mügeln's choice of Lyra's postill for the gloss made his work fairly popular and simple, since Lyra made no attempt to give a fourfold interpretation to each passage: but there is no indication that his translation was made specially for lay people." Burdach⁵ attached significance to Mügeln's choice of Lyra and assumed that it was intended for the layman. He concluded: ". . . Heinrich gab ja kein Gebetbuch, sondern ein populäre Kommentierung und einen verständlichen deutschen Text der Psalmen." Burdach believed that the *apologia* was Mügeln's work.

It is right to emphasize the value and popularity of Lyra as Mügeln's subject of translation for this would certainly be transferred to the German text. There seems to be, however, more to it than simply this; indeed, that there is in Burdach's and Walther's⁶ enthusiastic accounts some substance. If the *apologia* is ignored, we do not know that the translation was intended for the layman. It is not difficult to imagine that some medieval clergy were not completely happy with the Latin Lyra. As it is, the text with the commentary goes into German with not altogether

¹ Op. cit. p. 1: ". . . anderthalb Hundert Handschriften . . . Durch ganz Europa ging der Einfluss Lyras. . ."

² Cf. M. Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible and other medieval Biblical versions* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 166.

³ Cf. W. Schwarz, *Principles and problems of Biblical translation* (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 150, 176; 189, 197.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 85.

⁵ K. Burdach, *Die nationale Aneignung der Bibel, etc.* (Halle/Saale, 1924) p. 33.

⁶ Op. cit. p. 590.

unattractive results. In most copies some attempt is made to distinguish the Psalm text from the commentary. Quite often commentary consists of but a brief phrase, two or three words. If on these occasions the commentary is included as Psalm text, the result is a finished translation which it would be hard to equal among contemporary translations. It is in fact possible to read the Psalms from these commentaries, including such odd phrases, without any reference to the main and often uninspired body of commentary, and arrive at a translation which is both palatable in its reading and challenging in its apparent freeness. Add to this the fairly high incidence of occasions where commentary amounts simply to an alternative translation and we have evidence of rewarding reading. It is important in this connection that the printed copy of 1475, which supplies a continuous Psalm text made up from that within the commentary, very frequently includes commentary in error. It was a popular incunable of which many copies are extant.¹ Other copies with similarly constructed continuous texts for the Psalms and those copies reduced simply to a continuous text of the Psalms make similar inclusions, just as those copies with text and commentary indicate frequently commentary as text. The examples which follow can only convey the briefest suggestion of what is a common occurrence. The text is cited from the Rein Codex 204, and only Psalm text is indicated, even where this is not the case in the manuscript. The Latin Psalm text is given from the modern Vulgate.

Ps. 21, v. 23.

Qui timetis Dominum, laudate eum; universum semen Jacob, glorificate eum. *Die got fürchten mit lieb und mit chintleicher voricht, die loben in mit münd und mit hertzen; aller Jacobs sam eret in. . . .*

The first piece of commentary here is included by the Strassburg incunable in its continuous text of the Psalms. Several manuscripts indicate the whole passage as Psalm text.

¹ The present number of extant copies of the printed texts is not known. Walther, op. cit. p. 595, was already aware of twenty-seven copies. Bergeler persisted in describing the Strassburg incunable as "a. 1477 bei Heinrich Knoblochztzer", that is, adopting Walther's description. It had long been more usual to ascribe it to the unknown printer of the *Henricus Ariminensis*. G. Eis, *Frühneuhochdeutsche Bibelübersetzung* (Frankfurt a. M., 1949), pp. 62-4, quotes extensively from this copy without identifying it as the Mügeln translation.

Ps. 34, v. 22, 23.

Vidisti, Domine, ne sileas; Domine, ne discedas a me. Exsurge, et intende iudicio meo, Deus meus, et Dominus meus, in causam meam.

Herre, du hast gesehen die unrechtichait, di si an mir tuent, Herre, sweig nicht, daz ist, übersieh in dis unrechtichait nicht, Herre, cher von mir nicht, das du deinen scherm von mir icht czihest und dein hilfe. Stand auf, Herre, und achte meinen gerichte also, das du seu verdampnest. Herre und mein got, bedenche mein sache, wann ich han chainen richter hintz dem ich fliehe, nûr hintz dir alain.

Ps. 43, v. 6.

Non enim in arcu meo sperabo; et gladius meus non salvabit me; salvasti enim. . . .

Ich hab nicht geding an meinen pogen und mein swert tuet mich nicht hail, sunder dein genad hilfet uns. Wand du hast uns hail getan. . . .

Ps. 51, v. 9.

Confitebor tibi in seculum, quia fecisti; et exspectabo nomen tuum, quoniam bonum est in conspectu sanctorum tuorum.

Herre, ich wird dir veriehend in die werlt mit lob, daz ist, ich wurde dich lobend, wann du hast getan mir parmherczichait in disem leben und ich wird wartend deins namen in der chünftigen werlt, da den gerechten gelont wirt, wann ez ist guet zdem anplikch deiner heiligen, die deinen namen ewichleich lobend. . . .

Ps. 58, v. 4/5.

Sine iniquitate cucurri, et direxi. Exsurge in occursum meum, et vide. Et tu, Domine, Deus virtutum, Deus Israel, intende. . . .

An unrechtichait hab ich gelauffen den wech ditz lebens und hab gelaített meinen werch an daz ende. Stand auf gegen mir ze chomen und hilf mir, e das si mich tötten und sihe mein unschuld und ir übel und du, Herre der chrefte, daz ist, Herre der heiligen got dez israhelischen volchs, die du besonderleich erwelt hast dir ze dienen, nim war. . . .

Ps. 118, v. 40.

Ecce concupivi mandata tua; in aequitate tua vivifica me.

Sich, Herre, hab ich begert deiner gepot ze wizzen, ze versten und ze wurikchen: erchükche mich in deiner rechtichait.

Ps. 118, v. 41.

Et veniat super me misericordia tua, Domine, salutare tuum. . . .

Herre, und dein parmherztichait chôm über mich, daz du mir rechten gelauben gebst dein hail nach. . . .

In the last two examples the commentary again appears as Psalm text in the continuous Psalms provided in the Strassburg incunable. Instances of this are common in all these copies where such a text occurs. They are certain pointers to the way in which the Psalm text within the commentary was read. This

is made clear in any case in all the copies which indicate Psalm text within the commentary. Failure to distinguish Psalm text from commentary is found to some extent in all of them. Passages such as those quoted are of course frequent. On these occasions the commentary acts as a natural expansion of the Psalm text, supplies objects to verbs and fills seeming deficiencies in the German where the meaning may be implicit in the Latin. By ignoring large passages of commentary it is possible, as noted earlier, to read the Psalm in an often almost completely narrative setting, in a manner absent certainly in any contemporary translation. Just as illuminating are occasions when commentary amounts, as it very often does, to an alternative translation. These sometimes show a freeness of translation that is not found again until Luther.

Ps. 16, v. 2.

De vultu tuo iudicium meum prodeat.

Von deinem antlitz gē mein gerichte her für, sam ob er spraeche, ich bin beraitt ze leiden swas dein wil ist.

Ps. 21, v. 1.

Deus, Deus meus, respice in me.

Got, mein got, sich an mich, daz ist, du, vater in der gothait, sich mich an in meinen nöten.

Ps. 30, v. 15.

In manibus tuis sortes meae.

In deinen henden sint meineu loz, daz ist, mein leben und mein tot stent in deinen handen. An der Juden psalter stet also: Herre, in deinen handen sint mein zeit, daz ist, daz ich leb als lang du wilt und nicht mer.

Ps. 34, v. 3.

Effunde frameam.

Geuuz auz, Herre, dein swert, daz ist, tzeuch es auz der schaiden.

Ps. 36, v. 9.

Sustinentes autem Dominum, ipsi hereditabunt terram.

Di aber unserm herren wartent, die werdend das erdreich erbend, daz ist, die gedulticheich unsers herren willen peitent, die besitzend daz erdreich der lebenden.

Ps. 55, v. 6.

Ipsi calcaneum meum observabunt.

Si werdent mein fuezz behaltend, das ist, si werdent mein geng war nemend.

There are very many similar instances of these alternative translations. These, along with fortuitous inclusion, indicate the advanced translations available to anyone interested in a vernacular text of the Psalms. At a superficial level it is easy to connect this aspect of the translation with the much quoted saying ascribed to the later reformers: *Si Lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset*.¹ What, however, of the actual Psalm text itself, that is, the text stripped of commentary? How does it compare with those translations which do not stem, as far as is known, from the hands of important literary personages. Compared for example with the translation contained in the twelfth-century Cod. Pal. Vind. 2682² or with the Psalms of the so-called *Erste deutsche Bibel*,³ the Mügeln Psalm text presents a generally more interesting, but by no means consistently better translation. There are occasional flashes of what might be termed inspired translation for odd words and even whole verses, but nothing, it must be admitted, which would convey the stamp of a literary hand on the work generally. It falls in other words into the general pattern of pre-Lutheran translations, without the monotony of the interlinear version, but not advancing much either in syntax or vocabulary on the techniques of all pre-Lutheran translations.

This is naturally a generalization, for there are in such a large text quite a number of exceptions, which if produced together might appear to disprove it. In their proper perspective, however, they are not impressive. Paradoxically, more "inspired" readings are often to be found in those copies where a version of a sort has been attempted; that is, in the less reliable copies of the translation. Thus, in the Graz manuscript the attempt to be different results in some unusual contemporary renderings. Similarly, no. 32, with its more limited attempt at a version, provides readings which are certainly different. The favourite device employed in this manuscript is to change the word-order. Nonetheless, a complete examination of the two printed copies, which themselves belong datewise on the doorstep of the great Lutheran

¹ Also cited as *Si Lyra non lyrasset, nemo doctorum in Bibliam saltasset*.

² Cod. Pal. Vind. 2682, I: *eine frühmittelhochdeutsche Interlinearversion der Psalmen . . . Herausgegeben von N. Törnqvist* (Malmö, 1934).

³ "Die erste deutsche Bibel . . . Herausgegeben von W. Kurrelmeyer" in *Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, Bd. ccliv (Tübingen, 1910).

upheaval, leads to the conclusion that even drastic alterations are not sufficient to raise the translation from the general flatness which seems to characterize most pre-Lutheran Biblical translations. Rearrangement of words from time to time, changes in vocabulary, do not convert the translation into something approaching Luther's translation of the Psalms. Indeed, the two main versions of the translation, comprising half of the preserved copies, are still identifiable as the Mügeln work without difficulty.

Such criticism of this kind of translation is all too easy without paying due regard to its background and with the Lutheran text as a means of comparison. But it is altogether wrong to expect the inspired approach and attitude to translation which is associated with Luther's translations. As Schwarz¹ has made so clear in his admirable book, Luther's work goes far beyond any simple translation of the Bible into German. It reflects a revision of traditional attitudes, the new freedom of the text reflects the new freedom of the mind. In the same way previous translations reflect the limits of their orthodoxy, so that it is probably more legitimate to compare the Mügeln and contemporary translations with post-Lutheran Roman Catholic translations than it is to compare them with Luther's. The word-for-word translation with preservation of context retained the divinity of the original and the dignity and any departure from this could imply loss of spiritual content. "Medieval Bible translators up to, and including, the fifteenth century follow, generally speaking, this method and no blame should be attached to them for doing so. . . . For the method of word-for-word translation was considered to be the surest safe-guard against any alteration of the original thought. It was considered to render the contents of the Bible in its entirety without any mistake, and to protect the translator from a change of God's word and from heresy."² In the Mügeln work we might be justified in expecting the closest interpretation of the original, for it is hardly likely that one so intimately connected with Lyra's work should be unacquainted with his insistence on the value of the literal translation and escape its influence.

It is with regard to these limitations that the translation of the Psalm text itself must be judged. Within these it appears as a

¹ Op. cit. *passim*.

² Schwarz, op. cit. p. 51.

work more remarkable for its continued reproduction in an age when vernacular translations were illegal than for any spectacular innovations in translation techniques. It is hardly likely, moreover, that there would be any great concern as to the quality of the translation, when a vernacular text at all was still an achievement. The text that is found in the Rein Codex 204 could be described as an easily readable, inoffensive but unambitious translation, from the point of view of language a reasonable example of the prose of the day. The influence of the Latin text is on occasion undeniably present in the syntax, but this is not a dominant feature of the translation. The real point of contact with the Latin lies in the use of vocabulary—not in loan-words or even loan-translations, although the latter are frequent enough—but in the almost regular rendering of one German word for one Latin.

The extent of this will be seen from the selections of vocabulary which follow. The course of the translation through the century and a quarter following the Rein Codex 204 is particularly interesting. The printed copies of 1475 and 1504 present substantially the same picture in general terms as the Rein Codex 204, despite the many changes that have taken place. It seems profitable, therefore, to base this selection of vocabulary on the copy of 1504, itself within ten years of Luther's *Lecture on the Psalms* of 1513-15 and in a reasonable proximity to his commentaries and translations of the following decade. There are two selections. The first short one contains a number of words frequently recurrent in the Bible. The second larger selection arranges words wider in scope in semasiological groups. The numeral following the German indicates the number of occurrences.

- Beatus : selig 26, heylig 1.
- bonum : gut 12, gutes ding 13.
- bonus : gut 26.
- circumdo : umbgeben 25.
- diligo : lieb haben 40, lieb sein 1, wol bewarn 1.
- do : geben 85, setzen 1.
- dolor : schmertze 17, not 1, strit 1.
- impius : ungut 14, ungutig 2, ubel 1.
- invenio : finden 20.
- peccator : sunder 68.

salus : heil 31.

salutaris : heil 39, heiland 4, heiliger weg 1.

sanctus : heilig 80, heiligkeit 2, heilige stat 2, der heilige got 1.

servus : knecht 52.

The fact that several of these words are so firmly established in ecclesiastical usage as to admit of no variants is a possible argument. On the other hand the occasional exceptions to the usual reading point clearly to the possibilities within the translator's reach. A complete linguistic analysis of both printed copies gives only a very slightly different picture from the selection given above. The following groups reaffirm this. The comparative presentation shows the possibilities open to the translator.

- (i) Adjutorium : hilfe 10, hulffen 1.
auxilium : hilfe 10.
ops : hilfe 1.
- (ii) Mandatum : gebot 43.
praeceptum : gebot 8.
- (iii) Abscondo : verbergen 21.
occulto : verbergen 1, verhelen 1.
- (iv) Deprecatio : gebet 13, andacht 1, anruf 1.
oratio : gebet 28, andacht 2, wort 1.
petitio : gebet 3.
prex : gebet 4.
- (v) Colloco : setzen 4, stellen 1.
constituo : setzen 8, besetzen 1, stellen 1, bauwen 1, stiften 1.
pono : setzen 53, legen 9, einlegen 1, stellen 1, neigen 1, geben 1, machen zu 1.
statuo : setzen 9, stellen 4.
- (vi) Dico : sprechen 97, sagen 12.
enarro : sagen 3, kuntmachen 1.
loquor : reden 58, gereden 1, sprechen 3, sagen 1, gerecken 1.
narro : sagen 13, kundigen 2, offenbaren 1, trachten 1.
- (vii) Egenus : durftig 2, arm 1, an gut betelisch 1, der weyse 1.
inops : arm 3, durftig und arm 1, ane gut 5, der nicht gutes hat 1.
miser : arm 2.
pauper : arm 48.
- (viii) Accepto : nemen 1.
accipio : nemen 13, entfahen 1.
assumo : entfahen 3, nemen 1.
concupio : entfahen 3.
sumo : nemen 4.
suscipio : entfahen 20.

- (ix) *Aqua* : wasser 51, mer 1.
fluctus : fluss 4, flut 1, wasser 1, des meres fluss 1.
flumen : wasser 11, fliess 1, fluss 1, starker floss 1.
fluvius : wasser 1.
- (x) *Atrium* : bethaus 7, wonunge 3, haus 1.
domus : haus 53, geschlecht 1.
habitaculum : wonunge 2.
habitatio : wonunge 8.
penetral : wonunge 1.
sancitificium : wonunge 1.
tabernaculum : wonunge 22, gezelt 3, haus 2, bethaus 1, haus oder wonunge 1.
- (xi) *Delictum* : missetat 9.
impietas : ungute 2, ungerechtheit 1, bosheit 1.
iniquitas : ungerechtheit 87, bosheit 3, unrecht 2, sunde 2, bose lere 1, die bosheit und die ungerechtheit 1.
injuria : ungerechtheit 1, unrecht 1.
injustitia : ungerechtheit 9, gewerde 1.
peccatum : sunde 22.
- (xii) *Cognatio* : geschlecht 1.
generatio : geschlecht 48, volck 1.
gens : diet 50, volck 15, heide 4, leute 1.
natio : geschlecht 9.
plebs : volck 13, menschen 1.
populus : volck 99, volck oder leute 1.
progenies : geschlecht 4.
tribus : geschlecht 6.

The forms given here have been normalized to some extent. Apart from a few special cases every occurrence of the words listed is given for the Psalm text with no reference to the commentary. Had the list been compiled from the Strassburg copy it would have differed little from this. Brief though the selections are, the translation technique as revealed by the vocabulary differs in no way from its contemporaries. An examination of the whole of the Psalms in the printed copies confirms emphatically the impressions given by this selection. The fact that the whole Psalm text can be reduced to a glossary in this manner with no difficulty whatsoever is itself significant. It is not that it is simply one Latin word for one German word for so much of the time, but the preference of one German word for various Latin words, even when these have, as witnessed by the translation, a more adequate German equivalent. *Wasser* (no. ix) illustrates this particularly well. The preference of *arm* (no. vii) for epithets relating to poverty,

wretchedness, is equally instructive. The rendering *wonunge* for *penetral* barely suffices as a literal translation. There are many translations that only approximate to the Vulgate, without conveying its real significance, and since metonymy is not a feature of the translation, these cannot be explained in this way. It would be quite wrong to expect the variety in vocabulary of a modern translation, but it is permissible to anticipate a more enterprising distribution of the vocabulary, which an analysis shows to be already available within the text.

These remarks on the printed copies are almost entirely applicable to the Rein Codex 204. Such differences as there are between the earliest and latest preserved copies are not of the kind to elevate it to a different sphere, although, as noted, the Rein Codex 204 presents on balance a more favourable picture. More often than not they amount to nothing more than this, that where the printed copies use one word or phrase constantly, the Rein Codex 204 uses another—almost as constantly. The translation is a literal, not literary production. There is nothing to lead us to believe that Mügeln saw the Latin original as anything but a vehicle for conveying the Scriptures, without any suggestion of literary merit. His sensible but prosaic rendering endorses that. Not surprisingly the parallelism of the Hebrew rarely emerges successfully in the German. It is not omitted as a rule in the Rein Codex 204, as it often is in some of the later copies, but its inclusion often amounts to trite repetition.

If these conclusions seem to strike a completely negative note, it is because Mügeln's aim, like that of his contemporaries, was a vernacular text without any reappraisal of beliefs in the Lutheran sense. Startling innovations in technique are not to be found with the *Meistersinger*. The absence of completely rigid adherence to the word-order and phrasing of the Vulgate, introduction of copulae not in the Latin, occasional inspired departures from the normal translation technique—these do not take the Psalm text from the ranks of pre-Lutheran translations. Yet the somewhat harsh words of Gössel¹ on the "*Erste deutsche Bibel*" could only be applied to the Mügeln work without the superlatives: "Neben den grössten Unsinnigkeiten und vielen

¹ E. Gössel, *Der Wortschatz d r ersten deutschen Bibel* (Giessen, 1933), p. 13.

Zeichen höchster Unbeholfenheit stehen vereinzelt recht ansprechende Übersetzungen." The important point is that to expect "recht ansprechende Übersetzungen" is certainly not justified at this particular time.

There is no reason to assume that Mügeln's treatment of the commentary given in his source should differ from that of the Psalm text, although comparison with the Lyra in the absence of any critical edition of the Latin text is obviously much more difficult. In the Rein Codex 204 the Latin text for the Psalms is supplied verse by verse in the margin, so that we know definitely what Latin text the scribe of the earliest preserved copy had before him.¹ It facilitates a comparison not available for the commentary. Despite Bergeler's observations on the make-up and origins of some parts of the commentary and Mügeln's treatment of it, we are scarcely in a position to decide what is Mügeln. One particular passage for which I can find no corresponding Lyra in the later Latin copies finds an echo in church life down to this day and is worth reproducing at the end of these comments on the value of the translation. Psalm 5, v. 7 "*. . . und ich anpette ze deinem heyligen tempel in deiner vorichte, das ist, mit vorichtleichen ern. Ey, Herre got, wie sprechent nu genug leüt ir gepët in den geweichten chyrchen, di mit lachen und mit üppigen taidingen da stent. Si mochten vil lieber anders wo sein.*" It would be gratifying to associate this remark with Mügeln.

As far as the language, the philological side, of the translation is concerned, it is impossible to enter into a detailed account here. I can only point to the possibilities in such a wealth of linguistic material. My edition includes not only a thorough analysis of the principal copy, the Rein Codex 204, but also brief outlines of the main linguistic features of every copy. It is perhaps the real asset of so many preserved copies (of which many, for the purposes of establishing the text, can be eliminated) that by examining them all it is possible to observe the development of one linguistic picture, not only over a crucial period of still largely undocumented linguistic history, but also in three principal ENHG dialects. Their importance lies not in the light they may shed on

¹ There are slight differences from the accepted modern version of the Vulgate: similar variants occur among most of the copies with a Latin text. The implications of this and the influence of such Latin texts will be discussed in a later article.

Mügelin's language, but in their massive contribution to the whole conception of ENHG. For though the Latin text produces occasional syntactical abnormalities in word-order, its main effect is to curb imaginative translation, to simplify not distort linguistic data. It influences in no way the phonological and morphological situation, nor indeed the greater part of the syntax. This will be apparent from the passages already cited.

The Rein Codex 204 has the advanced vowel development associated with Middle/South Bavarian, but it is rich in MHG constructions and usage. There is almost total absence of specifically Middle German and even North Bavarian forms, but Middle/South Bavarian traits are numerous. This is not really what is expected from a man who by birth belongs to East Middle Germany, nor from a scribe from the Vogtland. It is much more in accord with Mügelin's later residence in Austrian, Viennese circles. In some ways the much later printed copies seem less "modern" than the Rein Codex 204 from the language point of view, particularly the Strassburg copy, where diphthongization of MHG *i*, *û*, *iu* is less extensive than in the Worms copy. This is to be expected from the dialects of these copies, each with the dialect of its own background. In both there is intriguing evidence of modernization of vocabulary, adaptation to their dialect, in the Psalm text itself, but without corresponding changes when the words recur in the commentary. This might indicate an increasing interest in the Psalm text, less attention to the commentary. Unfortunately, the enquiry into all the copies necessary to confirm such possible trends is still to be completed. As is expected, the language is at times very important for establishing the text. Thus, when the Vatican MS. Ross. 687 (no. 32), the oldest preserved dated copy with the *apologia*, has an entirely different, seemingly very free, reading for part of Psalm 36, v. 3, it is disturbing not to know why.

Vulgate : et inhabita terram, et pascere in divitiis ejus.

Rein 204 : und won auf dem erdreich, so wirstu geführt in seinem reichtum.

MS. Ross : und wann von dem edreich wirstu geführt in seinen reichtumb.

The Vatican manuscript has misunderstood its source. A Bavarian *wan* (i.e. *won* from *wonen*, *inhabitare*) has been taken for *wann* and *geführt* (from MHG *vuoren*, *pascere*) for *geführt* (i.e.

vüeren), with consequent necessary alterations to the rest of the verse. This kind of information is most important in this particular manuscript, which on the strength of its *apologia*, its position in the stemma and its comparatively early date, might be considered more valuable textually than it really is.

These brief comments can do no more than hint at the linguistic worth of the translation. As for the closely related orthography, it can only be noted that all the copies share in some measure what Moser¹ has termed the "Hauptcharakteristikum der frnhd. Orthographie"—the multiplication of consonants for no apparent good phonetic reason. The mid-fifteenth century copies are the worst in this respect. The transition of the translation from scriptorium to printing press can be observed in the group of eleven copies to which the printed copies belong. Especially noteworthy is the closeness of the Strassburg printed copy in text and even in appearance to the Donaueschingen manuscript, which was most likely its source. Such close agreement is rare among the manuscript copies, even where it can be established that two copies stand in the same close relationship as these two. This same group belongs, although several stages removed, to the same branch of the stemma as the earlier, extravagantly decorated Salzburg manuscript (no. 26), which was produced for King Wenceslas. Some thirty years later no. 31 was prepared for the "durchlechtig hochgeborn furstin fraw Anna von Brunswig, von Gotes gnaden Hertzogin von Österreich", attesting further its contemporary importance. Born within Wycliffe's life-time, the translation witnesses the transition from Scholasticism and Mysticism to the Reformation. It survives ordinances forbidding Bibles in the vernacular and lives through the changes from the interpretative approach to the Bible to the direct approach with its return to the sources. It derives from what Burdach has called the "Jahrhundert der Laienbibeln" and, if preserved copies are any measure at all, it must have exerted an influence, which has still to be assessed, among them. So far the most neglected of Mügeln's works, it may prove ultimately to be his most significant contribution to the ENHG scene.

¹ V. Moser, *Frühneuhochdeutsche Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1929), i. Bd. 1. Hälfte, p. 39.

THE ILLUMINATIONS OF ARMENIAN MANUSCRIPT 10 IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY¹

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ARMENIAN biblical manuscripts of the fourteenth century are by no means rare, but a manuscript of the Gospels (no. 10) in the John Rylands Library is so exceptional with regard to its illustrations that, though notice has been called to it and a few reproductions published,² it seems desirable to draw more general attention to it.

The manuscript is firmly dated; a long inscription on the penultimate leaf states that it was copied from 8 September in year 762 of the Armenian era (A.D. 1313), in the reign of Ochin, during the Patriarchate of Ter Constantin, when the Mongol Khan Tagha reigned. The work was done in the village of Chikbak, in the district of Taik, and prayers are requested for Hazarchah, his wife the Lady Tamam, her parents Khayat and Kher Khatun, for Hazarchah's father Mekhitar, and for the priest who copied it, Hovhannes. There is a shorter inscription at the beginning of the manuscript which states that the Lady Tamam ordered the work to be done and gave the paper on which it was to be written.

In addition to quite elaborate chapter heads and canon tables in architectural frames, of the type usual in Armenian manuscripts, there are numerous marginal illuminations of animals, birds and

¹ I should like to take this opportunity of thanking Dr. Elwell-Sutton of Edinburgh University for reading the inscriptions, titles of the scenes and names of the figures.

² A. Tchobanian, *La Rosarie d'Arménie* (Paris, 1929), vol. iii. He reproduces a number of the marginal details as well as some of the larger illustrations. Of these he includes the following: fol. 3^v, p. 54; fol. 5, p. 223; fol. 8, p. xix; fol. 9^v, p. 64; fol. 125^v, p. 116; fol. 126, p. 113; fol. 126^v, p. 139; fol. 259, p. 111; fol. 257^v, p. 92 and fol. 258, p. 84.

geometric patterns, and there are twenty-one full page illustrations of two quite distinct types, one series being more refined and broadly Byzantine in style, while the other is more primitive and more oriental. The names of the figures and titles of the illustrations in the former group are in Georgian, those of the latter in Armenian. The paintings with Georgian titles would all seem to be by the same hand, with the possible exception of that on fol. 125^v which is perhaps to be assigned to a different man but certainly to the same workshop. Those with Armenian inscriptions constitute a second group. The canon tables, chapter heads and marginal illustrations a third. Tchobanian suggests that these were done by the same man as the pictures with Armenian titles, but this is hardly likely, even though the styles are akin.

It is not proposed to consider the chapter heads or the marginal illustrations here ; though rather primitive, they are vigorous, and fall into line beside those in many other Armenian manuscripts. The works of the other two groups are, however, exceptional, and may be considered in some detail, in turn.

Illustrations with Georgian Inscriptions

These all show full-length figures, usually in pairs, but sometimes singly. They occur on fols. 3^v, 9^v, 125^v, 126, 256, 256^v, 257, 257^v and 258. Each deserves description :

fol. 3^v. Two figures shown frontally standing below arcades, topped by a dome. The older one to the right represents David, the younger one to the left Solomon. Their right hands are raised in the attitude of blessing. The former holds a rolled parchment in his left hand, the latter an open scroll with an inscription in Greek, reading *χαῖρε Σίον Ἁγία Μητὴρ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν Θεοῦ* . . . "Hail Zion, holy mother of the Churches of God." This is not the inscription usually associated with Solomon.¹

¹ An Armenian hymn for the dedication of a church contains the words "Rejoice today, Holy Zion, Mother Church ; make thy children to shine as the sun", and again, "Be thou glad, O Zion, Mother Church". The title *Theotokos* was also used for the church. See F. C. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum*, 1905, pp. 25, 24 and 22 respectively. An early lectionary in use in Armenia came from Jerusalem, there were definite cultural links with the Holy City, and it was there that the Armenian liturgy had its origin ; *loc. cit.*, p. 514. It is thus not surprising that an Armenian should refer to Zion as the Mother Church. The words are perhaps a free adaptation of Isaiah LXVI, 10, "Rejoice ye with Jerusalem", or of Psalm XLVIII, 11, "Let Mount Zion rejoice". I am greatly indebted to my colleague Mr. Michael Gough and even more to the Rev. J. H. Crehan, S.J., for the above information.

They have red haloes. David wears a red garment with slate-blue cloak, Solomon a slate-green garment with red cloak. The folds are indicated by thin black lines. The faces are modelled by means of high lights in mass, not the hatching so popular in Byzantine work of the period. The flesh tints are pinkish over a green undercoat. The colouring of the faces is somewhat crude, but the modelling of the faces is quite accomplished and the style distinctive. (Pl. 1a) fol. 9^v. There are two full-scale figures, representing Eve and Methuselah, and a smaller one representing Seth.¹ The hands of the former are raised in prayer. The two confronted birds above the border are akin to those that appear in the margins elsewhere in the manuscript. (Pl. 1b)

fol. 125^v. Sts. Sergius and Bacchus.² Though the disposition is closely similar to that of the other miniatures of this group, the colouring of the costumes is not quite the same, and there is a bright yellow background, whereas in other examples it is plain. The faces again are more crudely painted, and there is less attempt at modelling. The illumination is to be attributed to the same workshop, but perhaps to a different hand.

fol. 126. Constantine and Helen. The former is in blue, with a red halo, the latter in red, with a blue halo. Between them is a large cross. The ground is olive-brown below and was apparently silver above.

fol. 256. Two saints standing frontally. The one to the spectator's right is St. Tiridates; the inscription identifying the other has perished, and much of the colour has disappeared.

fol. 256^v. St. Nicholas. The face is shown frontally, though the body is turned slightly to the side. Most of the colour has perished, but enough survives to show that the costume was more elaborate than those of the other figures of the "Georgian" group.

fol. 257. St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil. Both wear ecclesiastical vestments; those of St. John Chrysostom are especially elaborate. The faces of both saints were done with especial care.

fol. 257^v. Christ and St. Ignatius. The Greek letters IC XC appear on either side of Christ's head and St. Ignatius's name is given both in Georgian and in Greek. Otherwise the style conforms to that of the other paintings of this group.

fol. 258. St. Gregory the Illuminator and St. Ephraim the Syrian. Between them is an inscription reading "Armenian Saints". The former is in ecclesiastical vestments; the latter is shown as an anchorite.

The style of all these miniatures is very distinctive. The characteristic Byzantine high-lights are absent on the one hand, while on the other the carefully modelled faces are quite

¹ Tchobanian describes them as the Virgin, St. John Baptist and the Child Christ. The appearance of the figures would agree with this but the inscriptions state otherwise.

² Tchobanian calls the latter St. Barbarée. But the inscriptions are clear and Sts. Sergius and Bacchus are normally shown together.



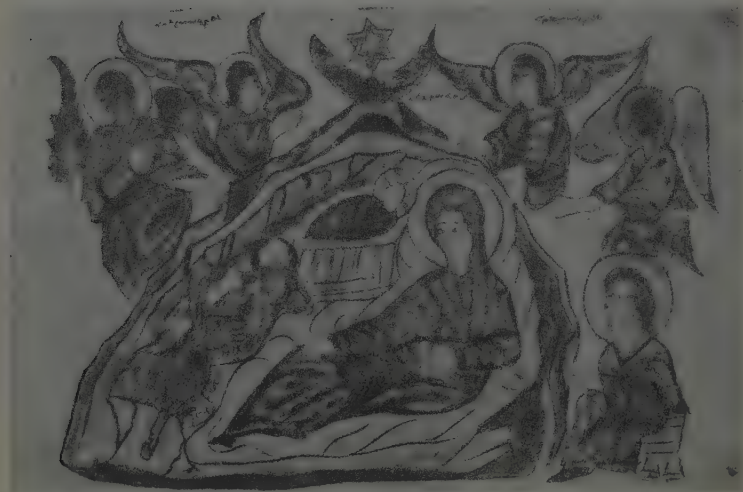
Pl. I(a). fol. 3^v. David and Solomon



Pl. I(b). fol. 9^v. Eve, Methuselah and Seth



Pl. II(a). fol. 4^v. The Adoration of the Magi



Pl. II(b). fol. 5. The Nativity



Pl. III(a). fol. 5^v. The Presentation in the Temple



Pl. III(b). fol. 6. The Entry into Jerusalem



Pl. IV(a). fol. 6^v. The Washing of the Feet



Pl. IV(b). fol. 9. The Virgin and Child

different from the more typically eastern ones of our second group. Again, the colouring, in light tones of red, blue, yellow and olive is different from the heavier colouring of the works of the second group, with its deep red, darkish green and so on. The style of these miniatures is not closely paralleled in other Armenian manuscripts, nor is it similar to that characteristic of Georgian manuscripts, where a much more purely Byzantine manner was normally to the fore. It is, however, close to that of Georgian icons; examples now in the Tbilisi museum may be compared. One, of the Virgin between Archangels, of the late eleventh century, one of Christ, dated 1140, and three larger panels which together form a Deesis, may be noted. A similar manner of modelling of the faces also appears in some of the wall paintings, notably those at Ateni, Akhtala and Kenshvisi.¹ Wall paintings in a small chapel at Kaimakli near Trebizond may also be compared. The building that contains them is dated by an inscription in Armenian to 1622, but the style of the paintings suggests an earlier date.² It would thus seem that we have before us paintings which are in a Georgian style, and that this style continued in existence between the eleventh and the seventeenth centuries, even if much of the work that was done in Georgia, more especially the book illustrations, was often in a different, more purely Byzantine, manner.

Illustrations with Armenian Inscriptions

The paintings of this, our second group, are not only in quite a different style from those of group I, but are also accompanied by inscriptions in Armenian. They consist in the main of scenes from the New Testament, and occupy ten pages near the beginning of the volume and one near the middle, which bears the portraits of two Evangelists (fol. 126^v). They are as follows :

¹ The paintings at Ateni are of several different periods from the tenth century onwards; those that show the closest resemblance to our manuscript represent the Prophets. The Akhtala paintings are dated to the twelfth and the Kenshvisi ones to the thirteenth centuries. See S. Y. Amiranashvili, *History of Georgian Monumental Painting* (Sakelgami, 1957, in Russian), especially Pls. 56-61, for the Ateni paintings.

² For the paintings see G. Millet and D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Painting at Trebizond* (London, 1936), Pls. XLIV, XLV. For the inscription see D. Talbot Rice, "Notice on Some religious buildings in the city and Vilayet of Trebizond", in *Byzantion*, v (1930), 64.

fol. 4^v. The Adoration of the Magi. The three kings move towards the right behind them are two shepherds, and at either side a landscape with sheep and goats among the bushes. The kings' names, Aspar, Caspar and Balthasar, appear above their heads, as well as the more general designations "shepherds" and "the Magian kings". (Pl. 2a)

fol. 5. The Nativity. The Virgin reclines in the centre, before the mouth of a cave, with the ox and the ass in front of her. St. Joseph sits outside the cave area. There are four archangels above. The words read "Angels", "the star of Bethlehem" and "Angels". (Pl. 2b)

fol. 5^v. The Presentation in the Temple. The Virgin, holding the Child, and St. Joseph, holding the dove, approach from the right; Simeon kneels facing them. Behind him is the temple, a stone structure with three arcades. The names read "Simeon", "The Holy Virgin", "Christ" and "Joseph". (Pl. 3a)

fol. 6. The Entry into Jerusalem. Our Lord approaches from the right, with the Apostle Paul behind Him. Before the gate of Jerusalem stands a man holding a palm branch who represents St. Peter. There are also two boys, one holding a branch, the other spreading a cloak on the ground. The names "Paul", "Jesus Christ" and "Peter" appear above the heads of the figures. (Pl. 3b)

fol. 6^v. The Washing of the Feet. The arrangement is not the usual one in Byzantine iconography. Our Lord stands to the right, before a throne, behind which is an angel, and washes Peter's feet in a large basin on a tall stand; St. Peter is seated very uncomfortably on a bench a good deal lower than the basin. There is one other Apostle behind him. The inscriptions read "Apostles", "Jesus Christ", "Angel", and, above the basin, "The Washing of the feet". (Pl. 4a)

fol. 7. The Raising of Lazarus. Our Lord approaches from the right with a woman behind Him. Lazarus, in the form of a swaddled figure, sits within a cave in front of our Lord; the heads and shoulders of two other figures appear below. The cross in our Lord's hand is a later addition. The names read "Lazarus", "Jesus Christ", "Martha the sister of Lazarus" and "The Raising of Lazarus".

fol. 7^v. The Judgement before Pilate. Pilate sits on a stool-like throne to the left; a figure holding what looks like a large candle in one hand and a sword in the other approaches him, followed by a man with a wand and a second one holding in one hand a hooked stick and in the other a candle-like object. The inscription above the seated figure reads "Pilate" and that on the other side "soldiers". The details have been to some extent repainted. The iconography is most unusual, and it is strange that our Lord should have been omitted from the scene.

fol. 8. The Resurrection. The identity of the figures is indicated by inscriptions, otherwise it would be hard to identify them. They are "Gabriel", "Michael", "the Holy Virgin", "Ointment bearer" and "Magdalene". The iconography and composition of the scene are again most unusual, and the empty tomb is hardly recognizable.

fol. 8^v. The Ascension. Our Lord appears before an oval "glory" in the centre, with six Apostles on either side and angels above. The inscriptions give the name of the scene and identify the angels and groups of Apostles. The iconography is here more conventional.

fol. 9. The Virgin and Child enthroned, with two other figures. The foremost of these is a portrait of the donor of the manuscript, her name written above her head; the second, also identified by an inscription, is the Magdalene. The position of the Child is unusual, and it is surprising that His back is directed towards the suppliant donor. (Pl. 4b)

fol. 126^v. Portraits of Evangelists. The page is divided into two by an architectural composition; in each half is a single figure seated on a throne, the names indicated as St. John and St. Luke. The former holds a book, the latter is writing.

Only in one of the illuminations, the Adoration of the Magi, is any attempt made to include the background; otherwise the figures are virtually shown in silhouette. The colours are crude and simple. Folds are indicated both by white and by dark coloured lines. The flesh tints are pinkish-white, the details in dark red or black; the green undercoat so characteristic of our first group is absent. The general style of the paintings is much closer to that usual in Persian manuscripts of the thirteenth century, of the so-called Mesopotamian or Baghdad school, than it is to Armenian work as a whole. The poses of the figures are often very Persian, and would seem to have been copied directly from a Persian, or at times perhaps, a Syriac model. The kneeling figure of Simeon in the Presentation (Pl. 3a), for example, may be compared to that of Hariri as he appears in the Schefer manuscript (Bibl. Nat. Arabe 5847, dated 1237) or on others of the same school.¹ Again, the foliage in the Raising of Lazarus is akin to that in the Edinburgh al-Biruni, dated 1307², while Pilate on fol. 7^v and the magi on fol. 4^v (Pl. 2a) wear head-dresses of Mongol type, like those that are usual in Persian manuscripts of the early fourteenth century, such as Raschid-ed-din's Jami at Tawarikh, of 1306 to 1314, now divided between Edinburgh University and the Royal Asiatic Society.³ This type of head-dress was not unusual in the Caucasus; it was worn, for instance, by queen Tamara in a portrait⁴ at Bertubani, of about 1210.

¹ Compare Arménag Bey Sakisian, *La Miniature Persane* (Paris et Bruxelles, 1929), Pl. XIV.

² T. W. Arnold, *Survivals of Sasanian and Manichaean Art in Persian Painting* (Oxford, 1924), Pls. 15 and 17.

³ L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson and B. Grey, *Persian Miniature Painting* (Oxford, 1933), p. 44 and Pls. XX and XXI.

⁴ G. W. Alibegaschwili, *Portrait of Queen Tamara* (Tbilisi, 1957, in Russian). Pl. p. 64.

Other parallels with Persian manuscripts could be cited ; they are much more marked than those with typically Armenian work.

It is tempting to suggest that the very unusual iconography and the extremely clumsy arrangement of many of the scenes is to be attributed to the fact that the painter was more familiar with Persian than with Christian work. But it would be dangerous to dogmatize, for there are parallels with other Armenian manuscripts, even if they are not numerous. For example Etchmiadzin 362 may be noted ; here the style is not wholly dissimilar.¹ The chief interest of these miniatures indeed lies in their unusual character, for they can hardly be termed great works of art. The painter has, in many of the scenes, more especially in the Judgement before Pilate (fol. 7^v), the Virgin and the Marys (fol. 8), and the portrait of the donor before the Virgin (fol. 9, Pl. 4b), set off on a course of his own. The results are not wholly satisfactory from the artistic point of view, but the paintings were daring and exceptional in their period, and they serve, perhaps more than those in any other manuscript, to attest the close relations in the artistic sphere that existed in the early fourteenth century between Armenia and Georgia on the one hand and Armenia and Persia on the other.

¹ F. Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes* (Paris, 1913), p. 14 and Pls. IX to XV.

STANDARDS APPLIED BY MUSLIM TRADITIONISTS

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ORTHODOX Muslims believe that the Qur'ān is the eternal uncreated word of God, so it has always been the supreme rule of faith and life. But when the Muslim conquests spread throughout the world problems not met with in Arabia had to be faced, and some source of guidance was required for circumstances about which the Qur'ān did not provide regulations. Eventually Tradition came to be recognized as a second basis of Islām. People had been recounting stories about the Prophet's deeds and words, at first quite informally, and as time passed a vast amount of material became current. Much of it was oral tradition, but even in the first century¹ some men kept for their own use written copies of the traditions they had learned. By the second century some books containing traditions began to appear, and in the third century the books which became canonical were compiled. For a time many people rejected Tradition, but in course of time it came to be recognized as a source of law second only in importance to the Qur'ān. It was pointed out that the Qur'ān said Muḥammad was sent to teach the Book and the Wisdom (cf. ii. 146; iii. 158; iv. 113; lxii. 2), and it was argued that as the Book was the Qur'ān the Wisdom was Tradition. But many spurious traditions were being fabricated, and therefore traditionists gradually developed standards by which they could decide what was genuine and what was spurious and preserve and transmit this important source of guidance for the direction of the community.

Muslim tradition as we know it is presented in the form of a text supported by a chain of authorities, called the *isnād*, through

¹ The Muslim era began on 16 July 622 A.D. The year is lunar and so is shorter than our year by eleven days, which means that a century in the Muslim calendar represents roughly ninety-seven years in ours. When dates are mentioned in this article I have given only the Muslim dates, as this indicates the period in the history of Islām to which reference is being made.

whom it is said to have been transmitted. Great importance is laid on the *isnād*, for it serves as documentation ; but while the standard books of tradition provide complete *isnāds* right back to the Prophet, enough is not known about how and when the practice developed. A number of statements are quoted as from men who lived at a fairly early period. For example, Ibn Sīrīn (d. 110) is reputed to have said that when the civil strife arose people insisted on traditionists quoting their authorities, adding that those who followed the *sunna* were considered and their traditions were accepted, whereas innovators were considered but their traditions were rejected.¹ Schacht² objects to the genuineness of this statement because he holds that the civil strife in question was that which began with the killing of the Caliph al-Walīd b. Yazīd in 126, sixteen years after Ibn Sīrīn's death. But there were two serious civil wars before that, one between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya and the other between 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubair and the Umayyads when he claimed to be Caliph. The reference might therefore be to either of these. But while one draws attention to the fact that Ibn Sīrīn had the opportunity of knowing about civil wars, one may raise questions about his statement on other grounds. We know that after his time a strict system of *isnād* was not always followed, so he could hardly have meant what traditionists take him to mean. He belonged to the generation of the Followers, so possibly all he could have meant was that people were asked from which Companion of the Prophet they had received their information. We may also wonder what he meant by the *sunna*. He had settled in Basra, and it is not clear that in his day any idea of the *sunna* was universally held.

To take another example, Zuhri (d. 124) is reported to have rebuked Ishāq b. Abū Farwa for repeating traditions without *isnāds*,³ but we know that Zuhri himself is not always represented as giving a full *isnād* for his traditions. When Ibn Ishāq quotes his traditions we find that Zuhri sometimes gives a full *isnād*,

¹ See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Introd., chapter on *al-isnād min al-dīn*.

² Joseph Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence* (Oxford, 1950), p. 36 f.

³ See al-Ḥākim, *Ma'rīfat 'ulūm al-ḥadīth* (Cairo, 1937), p. 6.

sometimes a partial one, and sometimes none at all. If Zuhri, who was a distinguished traditionist, really did insist on others giving a full *isnād*, one must assume that he was not always consistent when he transmitted traditions himself.¹

One feels, in considering statements like these attributed to fairly early distinguished men, that if they really said these things they did not mean what later traditionists meant when they spoke of *isnāds*. In earlier times an *isnād* must have been something more undefined than it came to be later. The idea of quoting authorities was, I am sure, adopted before the first century of Islām was over, but it certainly was not so thorough-going as the later practice, which gives one reason to wonder how many *isnāds* were later manufactured so as to trace traditions back to the Prophet.

Ibn Ishāq (d. 151) wrote a life of the Prophet which contains many traditions, but he did not always feel it necessary to provide them with a complete *isnād*. He sometimes dispensed with it altogether, sometimes gave it incompletely, and sometimes gave it in full.² The same applies to *al-Muwaṭṭa'* produced by Mālik (d. 179). Most of his *isnāds* do not go back to the Prophet, and there are places where he is content to give his own opinion, or quote the practice of Medina. This suggests that the necessity of a complete *isnād* traced to the Prophet was not realized by the middle of the second century. It should be noted, however, that traditionists do not recognize Ibn Ishāq's life of the Prophet as a book of tradition, and that although many have acknowledged Mālik's work as such, it is properly a law book. The earliest book of traditions available to us in print is the *Musnad*³ of Ṭayālīsī (d. 203 or 204). Here we find the use of complete *isnāds* throughout. The same applies to the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241), a work arranged by his son. We may therefore assume that during the second half of the second century the necessity of a complete *isnād* came to be realized.

¹ Cf. BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, xxxviii (1955-6), 462 f.

² Ibid. pp. 451 f.

³ A *musnad* work is a collection of traditions arranged according to the companion of the Prophet to whom they are traced. This is in contrast with a *muṣannaf* (classified) work which arranges the traditions according to the subject matter.

But over against this we find that Shāfi'ī (d. 204), who more than anyone else established Tradition as a basis of Islām, does not always give a complete *isnād* when he quotes traditions. When we get on in the third century, when the works which have become authoritative were produced, a complete *isnād* is found to be invariable.

However genuine or otherwise the *isnāds* in the canonical works may be, they have always been accepted as genuine by Muslim students of Tradition who have paid minute attention to them. But all *isnāds* were not accepted as genuine, for as time passed it became obvious that many spurious traditions were being foisted on the public, so it was important to separate the genuine from the spurious. This was done chiefly by examining the quality of the men whose names appeared in *isnāds*, for a tradition was commonly judged by the *isnād*. Books were compiled about these men and statements were recorded regarding their degree of reliability or otherwise. It was also important to know when they were born and when they died, for this gave guidance as to whether they could have met the men they quoted, and whether the men who quoted them could have met them. But this was mainly a development from the third century onwards, although it is said that some people even of the first century collected material of this nature. It is, of course, reasonable to infer that much material was handed down from an early period and incorporated in later books, for one can hardly imagine that the information about the men of the first two centuries is fictional. Arabs were notable as genealogists, so we can believe that, although books may have been late in appearing, the materials for compiling them were available. But whatever may be said about the details of birth and death and such like, one is faced by rather a problem through finding that everyone does not agree about the quality of the men who are discussed. The question which arises is which statement is to be believed when authorities differ.

This leads us on naturally to consider the criticism of the men, a subject which goes under the title of *al-jarḥ wal-ta'dīl* (disparaging and declaring trustworthy). Some people felt that the whole subject was unworthy, and they seem to have continued this

disapproval for a long time. Muslim in the introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ* emphasizes the necessity of examining the credentials of traditionists, and as he was recognized early as a very great authority, one might imagine that his arguments would settle the matter, but that did not happen. For example, al-Ḥākim (d. 405) argues at length in his *Madkhal ilā kitāb al-iklīl*¹ that the practice of investigating the credentials of transmitters is justified, and he returns to the subject in his *Ma'rifat 'ulūm al-ḥadīth*.² Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463) deals with the matter in his *Kitāb al-kifāya fī 'ilm al-riwāya*³ where he devotes considerable space to it. It should be noted that such criticism did not affect the Companions of the Prophet who transmitted traditions from him, because everyone agreed that they were all beyond reproach; but there must have been quite an influential body of opinion which disapproved of the criticism of traditionists of subsequent generations to make it necessary for others to argue in support of the practice.

Although some people objected, a number of books were written on the subject, the most famous of the early ones being *Kitāb al-jarḥ wal-ta'dīl*⁴ by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (240-327). That this was recognized as a standard work is shown by the fact that the Khaṭīb in his *Kifāya* and, about two centuries later, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643) in his *'Ulūm al-ḥadīth*⁵ were content to quote the categories of traditionists given by Ibn Abū Ḥātim. About him and his book the Khaṭīb tells an interesting story.⁶ When Ibn Abū Ḥātim was reading his book to a company of scholars, Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusain al-Rāzī (d. 304) entered and asked what he was reading. He replied that it was a book on *al-jarḥ wal-ta'dīl*. Yūsuf asked what that was, and when he explained that he showed in it which traditionists were reliable and which were not, Yūsuf said, "I am ashamed of you, Abū Muḥammad. Many of these people have dwelt in paradise for a hundred and two hundred years, yet you are mentioning and slandering them on the face of the earth." When Ibn Abū

¹ J. Robson, *An Introduction to the Science of Tradition* (London, 1953), pp. 43 f.

² Pp. 52 ff.

³ Ḥaidarābād, 1357/1938. See pp. 31 ff.

⁴ Ḥaidarābād, 1371-3/1952-3, 9 vols.

⁵ Aleppo, 1350/1931.

⁶ Op. cit. p. 38.

Ḥātim heard this he wept and said : “ If I had heard this statement before I had composed this book, I would not have composed it.” This may be nothing more than one of the pious stories so dear to Muslim writers, for the book was certainly not withdrawn. Having told the story the Khaṭīb goes on to argue that there are certain traditionists against whom warning must be given, and he insists that this does not involve slander.

Ibn Abū Ḥātim mentions four grades of men whose traditions may be accepted.¹ The first grade are called *thiqa* (trustworthy), or *mutqin* (exact). To these terms Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ adds *thabat* (reliable), *ḥujja* (proof), *ḥāfiẓ* (one who knows his material by heart) and *dābiṭ* (accurate).

The second grade are called *ṣadūq* (truthful), *maḥalluhu al-ṣidq* (his station is veracity), or *lā ba’s bihi* (there is no harm in him). People to whom such terms are applied are not so authoritative as the first grade, but they are considered quite respectable and their traditions are written down and considered. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ approves of this statement, saying that these terms do not declare a man to be accurate and therefore it is right that one should consider his traditions before accepting them. But he goes on to quote Yaḥyā b. Ma’īn (d. 233) to the effect that when he used *lā ba’s bihi* he meant that a man was trustworthy ; otherwise he called him *ḍa’if* (weak). As Ibn Abū Ḥātim was born seven years after Ibn Ma’īn died we get some indication of a fairly short period within which *lā ba’s bihi* went down in meaning, at least in the estimation of Ibn Abū Ḥātim.

The third grade is *shaiḫh*. This type of transmitter is treated in the same way as those of the second grade, but is considered somewhat inferior to them. It is a little peculiar that this term should be applied as belonging to a separate category, for it is commonly used quite generally for the authority from whom one learns, without any suggestion that he is not of a very high grade. For example, Bukhārī and Muslim are often called the two *shaiḫhs*.

The fourth grade is called *ṣāliḥ al-ḥadīth* (good, or upright in tradition). The traditions of such a man are written down for

¹ For these and for the four grades of lower authority, op. cit. I, i, p. 37. Cf. al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya*, p. 23 ; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, ‘*Ulūm*, pp. 133 ff.

the purpose of comparing them with those of other traditionists. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ says that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī (d. 198) used this phrase of a man who, while truthful, had some weakness.

Ibn Abū Ḥātim also gives four grades of people whom he considers of lower authority. The first is *layyin al-ḥadīth* (easygoing in tradition). He says that his traditions are written down and compared with others. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ quotes Dāraqutnī (d. 385) as saying that this term is applied to one who is not rejected, but is criticized for something not serious enough to impugn his general trustworthiness.

The second grade is *laisa bi-qawī* (not strong). This type of man is treated in the same way as the preceding, but is of lower grade.

The third grade is *ḍa'if al-ḥadīth* (weak in tradition). This type is not rejected outright although inferior to the second grade, but his traditions are written down and compared with others to see whether they find support elsewhere.

The fourth grade consists of men called *matrūk al-ḥadīth* (abandoned respecting tradition), *dhāhib al-ḥadīth* (rejected), or *ḡadhdhāb* (liar). Needless to say, one does not write down the traditions of such men.

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ adds a number of terms which Ibn Abū Ḥātim did not explain.¹ They are *qad rawā al-nās 'anhu* (people have transmitted on his authority), *wasaf* (middling), *muqārib al-ḥadīth* (approximating with regard to tradition), *muḍṭarab al-ḥadīth* (confused in tradition), *lā yuḥtajj bihi* (not adduced in argument), *majhūl* (unknown), *lā shai'* (nothing), *laisa bi-dhāk* (worthless), *laisa bi-dhāk al-qawī* (not at all strong), *fīhi*, or *fī ḥadīthihi ḍa'f* (in him, or, in his traditions there is weakness), this latter being called a term of lower grade than *ḍa'if al-ḥadīth*. Of those who are not rejected *mā a'lam bihi ba's* (I know no harm in him) is used, but it is inferior to *lā ba's bihi* (there is no harm in him). That is understandable, for the latter is a categorical statement, whereas the former merely says one knows no harm in him, without any guarantee that everyone else is equally ignorant of such harm.

This scheme sounds very cut and dried, but the matter is not always quite so simple, for there is no universal agreement about

¹ Op. cit. pp. 136 f.

the class to which individual traditionists belong. While some are generally recognized as unimpeachable authorities, there are others who are considered such by some but as less trustworthy by others. Then we find that sometimes men who are recognized as reliable at one period of their lives are not to be trusted at a later period. This may be due to the effect of senility, about which something will be said later ; or a reliable man's books may have been destroyed by fire, and he may have kept on transmitting traditions although he could not guarantee to remember all he had accumulated. In this latter instance it is important to know what the man transmitted before the fire, as that may be accepted as reliable, whereas one cannot trust what was transmitted after the fire. Biographical information was carefully kept, but it is one thing to know the age of a man when he became unreliable and another to know what was transmitted before and what after that period. In the event of such information not being available, however, one can always compare his traditions with similar ones transmitted by reliable authorities, as that may give some guidance regarding their trustworthiness. Another difficulty is that, even when one finds an *isnād* containing a series of men who are accepted authorities, the tradition may not be reliable, for some people have been guilty of attributing traditions to authorities and so pretending that what they invented is genuine. Ḥākim has something to say about such *isnāds* in his *Ma'rifat 'ulūm al-ḥadīth* (pp. 58 ff.), where he indicates that this presents great difficulty, and that such weaknesses can be detected only by one's thorough knowledge and by constant discussion with learned men.

The subject of the qualities necessary in a man whose traditions may be accepted is also approached in a more general way. Here I quote from Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ḥāzimī (d. 584) in his *Shurūṭ al-a'immat al-khamsa*,¹ pp. 39 ff. He mentions five qualifications. (1) The traditionist must be a Muslim, but if he has heard traditions before accepting Islām and transmits them after becoming a Muslim, there is no harm in this. (2) He must have intelligence. One who is not in his right mind cannot have his traditions accepted, and Ḥāzimī adds

¹ Cairo, 1357/1938.

that the same applies to a young child. If one becomes confused in later life the traditions he transmitted before that happened can be accepted if one is in a position to distinguish between what he transmitted before and after this calamity. (3) He must be truthful. If anyone puts forward false traditions intentionally, what he transmits must never be accepted, even if he repents. But if he admits an unintentional mistake his traditions can be accepted. If one is known to be a liar regarding other matters his traditions are rejected; and the same applies if he allows people to suggest he has transmitted traditions which he has not transmitted, or if he is known to be easygoing in hearing and passing on traditions. (4) He must not be one who conceals defects in his traditions. (5) He must be trustworthy. Even a complete *isnād* back to the Prophet is not acceptable unless the men are all trustworthy. Trustworthiness involves obedience to God's commands, avoidance of what He has forbidden and of wicked deeds, maintaining truth, and being careful to say nothing which could affect one's religion or manly qualities. It is not enough to avoid great sins: lesser sins must be avoided also. One who is recognized as trustworthy must also be known by traditionists to be a student of tradition and to pay great attention to it. What he knows should have come from the learned and not from books; in other words he is not acceptable if self-taught. He must be accurate regarding what he hears and must verify what he transmits from his *shaiḥ*. He should, among other things, be dignified, and he should avoid wrong ideas and innovations.

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (pp. 114 ff.) also gives an account of the qualities expected in an acceptable traditionist, agreeing in general with what has been quoted from Hāzimī, but going into the subject in greater detail. He adds that the traditionist should know his material by heart if he transmits from memory and should keep his book accurate if he transmits from it. If he quotes traditions according to the sense without adhering strictly to the actual wording he should have such a thorough knowledge of the language as will keep him from making any change in the meaning. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ also expresses disapproval of accepting payment for transmitting traditions.

The age at which one could begin to hear and transmit traditions is also an important subject, but opinions differ regarding it. The Khaṭīb and Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ provide very much the same information on the subject, so I confine myself mainly to what Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ says. He disagrees with those who reject the traditions of young people, pointing out that some of the young Companions of the Prophet transmitted traditions which were accepted without any distinction being made between what they learned before growing up and what they learned afterwards. He says that in earlier and later times it has always been the custom to allow boys to attend sessions at which traditions are being transmitted, and to accept their transmission of what they learned at that time.¹

Regarding the writing down of traditions Abū 'Abdallāh al-Zubairī (d. 236) is quoted as saying the approved age to begin is twenty, for the mental capacities are fully developed then. Mūsā b. Ishāq (d. 297) said the people of Kufa did not send young people to study Tradition till they were twenty years old. Mūsā b. Hārūn (d. 295) said the Basrans wrote down traditions from the age of ten, the Kufans from twenty and the Syrians from thirty. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ considers that young people should be made to hear traditions as early as this can properly be done, and they should write, collect and verify them when they have the capacity. This varies with the individual and is not confined to a particular age.² Opinions differ not only about the age when young people may write traditions, but also when they may begin to hear them. Mūsā b. Hārūn said a child could hear traditions when he was able to distinguish between a cow and a beast of burden, or, as another version says, between a cow and a donkey. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal said a child could hear when he was able to understand and be accurate. When told that someone had said a boy must first be fifteen years old, he objected to that. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ says traditionists of later times accepted traditions from one who was five years old and upwards at the time when he heard them, and from one below five years whether he had gone to the session or had been taken there. He holds that if a child has advanced beyond those who cannot understand and

¹ Op. cit. p. 137.

² Op. cit. p. 138.

cannot give a reply it is right for him to hear traditions, even if he is younger than five. If the child has not attained such capacity it is not right for him to hear traditions; indeed the same applies to a man of fifty. He quotes some stories of precocious children to uphold his view, but recognizes that such stories do not establish a general rule. Each case must be judged on its merits.¹

He deals also with the age at which a young person may transmit traditions, and expresses his opinion that when there is a need for the material which the young person possesses he has a right to transmit it, no matter what his age. He then quotes Abū Muḥammad Ibn Khallād (d. 360)² who said the proper age was fifty because this is the end of the period of maturity when one's powers are fully developed; but he allowed it at forty because Muḥammad began his prophetic office at that age. But 'Iyād (d. 544) objected to this, pointing out that some famous traditionists of earlier times had not lived to the age of forty or fifty. Mālik is said to have held sessions for transmitting traditions when he was a little over twenty, but one report says he did this at the age of seventeen. Although his masters were still alive, large numbers came to hear him. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ attempts an explanation of Ibn Khallād's statement by suggesting that he was speaking more particularly of people who put themselves forward before they were properly advanced in their knowledge. He considers it is only right that such people should wait till they have reached a mature age, but he argues that there have been men who showed great ability at an early age. They did not put themselves forward, but were asked by others to transmit traditions to them because they recognized that they were capable of giving valuable information.³

There is also the question of when one should stop transmitting traditions. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ says the proper time for this is when a man becomes senile and there is fear that he may be confused and transmit material he has not himself received. He adds that a particular age cannot be specified, as people vary. When a man becomes blind it is also advisable that he should

¹ Op. cit. pp. 139 f.

² This is al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khallād al-Rāmahurmuzī, who was the first to write a book on the general science of Tradition.

³ Op. cit. pp. 203 f.

cease to transmit traditions, for he cannot guarantee that people will not introduce alien matter among his traditions. Ibn Khallād thought the eighties were the period when one was in danger of being senile and that people should generally stop then, but he recognized that some retained their keenness of intellect even to an advanced age, and so he said that if they were still alert he wished them well. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ does not express an opinion on this statement, having already said that one cannot specify a fixed age for everyone, but he mentions some traditionists who continued their activity to an advanced age, some even continuing when they had become centenarians.¹

Something should now be said about the methods by which traditions may be received. These vary in importance, but everyone is not agreed about the relative importance of some kinds. The simplest way of dealing with the subject is to take Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's divisions, for he has arranged the material better than any other I know.²

The first method is *samā'* (hearing). The *shaiḫh* may speak from memory or read from his book, and he may do this in the form of dictation, or by telling the traditions without dictating them. To hear the traditions directly from the *shaiḫh*'s mouth is generally held to be superior to any other method of getting them.

The second method is *al-qirā'a 'alal shaiḫh* (reciting to the *shaiḫh*). This is commonly called *'ard*, which means submitting the material to the *shaiḫh*, just as one does when learning the Qur'ān. It is the same whether one recites oneself or hears someone else reciting. This recitation may be done from memory or from a book, and it does not matter whether the *shaiḫh* knows the material by heart or does not; but in the latter case he should have his book with him, or another reliable authority should consult his book. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ says most of the Ḥijāzīs, Kufans, Medinans including Mālik, as well as Bukhārī and some others have considered this method equal in importance to hearing, but most Easterns consider it inferior, and theirs is the correct view.

¹ Op. cit. p. 204.

² Op. cit. pp. 140-69.

The third method is *ijāza* (licence). This means that a *shaikh* gives someone licence to transmit his traditions, and the nature of the licence is divided into seven different classes : (1) *Licence for specified material given to a specified person*. Some have objected even to this on the ground that it would make journeys in search of traditions unnecessary, and some have considered it unlawful, or as providing an opening for falsehood. But Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ argues that when one has informed another of his material and given him licence to transmit it, this is similar to his informing him of it in detail. (2) *Licence to a specified person for something unspecified*. The *shaikh* may say, "I give you licence for all I have heard", or, "for all I transmit". There is even greater disagreement about this type of licence, but the majority consider it allowable. (3) *Licence to someone unspecified in general terms*. One may say, "I give licence to all the Muslims", or, "to everyone", or, "to my contemporaries", etc. People of later times have criticized this although they allowed the general principle of licence. It was felt that if some qualifying phrase was added it came nearer to being allowable, but this is not expressed in any cordial manner. The Khaṭīb allowed this type of licence, but Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ says he has neither seen nor heard of anyone whose example is followed who employed this form of licence or transmitted by means of it. (4) *Licence to someone unknown, or for something unknown*. One may say, "I give licence to Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Dimashqī" when there are a number of people of that name and nothing is said to specify which one is meant. Or one may say, "I give licence to so and so to transmit from me *Kitāb al-sunan*", when he transmits a number of books with that title, but does not specify which one is meant. This is a corrupt and useless form of licence. (5) *Licence to a non-existent person*. This is to be combined with giving licence to an infant. One may say, "I give licence to those who are born to so and so". It would be better to say, "I give licence to so and so and to those who are born to him", or, "I give licence to you and your children and your descendants as long as the line is maintained". The Khaṭīb allowed licence to a non-existent person even without relationship to someone existent being mentioned, but Ibn

al-Ṣalāḥ does not allow licence to a non-existent person on the ground that giving licence is equivalent to giving information, so the idea of giving licence to a non-existent person is just as unsound as that of giving information to a non-existent person. But he considers it allowable to give licence to an infant, holding that he may transmit the material when he has acquired the capacity for doing so. (6) *Licence to transmit material which the one who gives it has not yet heard, this is to take effect when he has heard it.* Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ says that if licence is treated as equivalent to giving information, this type is not allowable. If it is treated as equivalent to permission, it is considered on the basis of giving an agent permission to sell something one means to buy before one has bought it. Though some members of the Shāfi'ī school allowed such a practice, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ holds that it is wrong. So if anyone is given licence to transmit all that a *shaiḥ* has heard he must transmit only what the *shaiḥ* had heard before he gave the licence. (7) *Licence for material for which one has oneself received licence.* While this is generally considered allowable one must consider the nature of the licence received by one's *shaiḥ* himself so as not to transmit anything it does not include.

Having discussed these types of licence at length Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ lays it down that licence is approved only when the one who gives it knows what he gives licence for, and the one to whom it is given is a learned person. One wonders how this fits in with Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's approval of giving licence to an infant. He says further that when the one who gives licence writes it he should also express it by word of mouth, for a written licence is inferior to one which is spoken.

The fourth method is *munāwala* (handing over). This is of two kinds. The first is combined with licence and this has subdivisions. The *shaiḥ* may hand over a written copy which has been verified, saying this is what he transmits and giving licence to transmit it. The one who is handed the copy may be allowed to keep it, or to copy and return it. Another type is when one brings a *shaiḥ* some of his traditions which have been written down. The *shaiḥ* examines them, and if he is satisfied that they are his traditions he returns the script to the one who brought it, telling him he has examined it and found that it contains traditions

of his. He then says, " Transmit them on my authority ", or, " I give you licence to transmit them on my authority ". This is a variety of *'ard* (submitting material) called *'ard al-munāwala* to distinguish it from the kind mentioned earlier, called *'ard al-qirā'a*, when a student reads over a *shaikh's* traditions to him. Another type is when the *shaikh* hands the student a copy of his traditions and gives him licence to transmit them, but does not let him keep the book. This type is therefore considered inferior, but Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ says that if the student can get possession of the book or of a verified copy of what he has been given licence to transmit, he may transmit that. Some say this type is like getting licence for something specified, others say it is of no value, others say it has a quality which deserves consideration, but God who is blessed and exalted really knows. A fourth type is when a student brings a *shaikh* a script, saying this is what the *shaikh* transmits and asking him to hand it to him and give him licence to transmit the traditions. If the *shaikh* merely hands the script back without examining it and verifying that it really contains what he transmits, this is not allowable unless the man who presented the script is one who can be trusted and is himself learned. The Khaṭīb considered this allowable provided the *shaikh* said, " Tell on my authority what this book contains if it is from my traditions, but I am not responsible for any error or wrong conception ". The second main division is *munāwala* without licence, when the *shaikh* merely says the book contains his traditions or what he has heard, but does not tell the man to transmit them on his authority and does not give him licence to do so. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ considers that this does not give the student the right to transmit the traditions, but he tells that a number of traditionists considered that it did.

The fifth method is *mukūtaba* (correspondence). The *shaikh* may write traditions for someone, whether absent or present and licence may or may not be given. Some hold that this material may be transmitted although licence has not been given, but others say it may not. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ argues that if the student knows the *shaikh's* handwriting he is perfectly justified in transmitting the material, but when he does so he should say, " So

and so wrote to me saying . . .". If licence is given, this method of transmission is on an equality with *munāwala* combined with licence.

Another method is called *waṣīya* (bequest). The book may be left to someone on the death of the *shaiḫh*, or entrusted to him when the *shaiḫh* goes on a journey. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ insists that, in spite of what some people say, one has no right to transmit material received in this manner.

Finally there is *wijāda* (a find). This is used of finding a book in the handwriting of the man who transmitted its contents. The one who finds the book never met the writer, or if he met him he never heard the traditions from him, or received licence to transmit them. If one wishes to transmit the material he has found he must be careful to say that he found it in the handwriting of so and so, or in so and so's book, as this gives a suggestion of a connected *isnād*. But if he finds a book containing a *shaiḫh*'s traditions which have been copied by someone else, all he may say is that so and so mentioned the traditions, or said such and such. This does not give any suggestion of a connected *isnād*.

Some at least of these methods were used in the third century and possibly earlier. For example, Bukhārī has a chapter on reading over traditions to a *shaiḫh*, and also on *munāwala* and *mukātaba*.¹ The practice of making journeys in search of traditions was prevalent at an early date, when it was considered necessary to receive traditions directly from authorities who were known to transmit them.

Traditionists not only had a variety of methods of receiving traditions, they also had much to say about what words might be used when one transmitted material. The use of '*an* (from, on the authority of) presents some problems. In the *Muwatta'* Mālik is normally quite content to use '*an* without indicating how the information was received. He may use *qāla* (he said) of his immediate authority, but he is usually satisfied with '*an* for other stages of the *isnād*. In his *Risāla*² Shāfi'ī often begins with

¹ *ʿIlm*, 6 and 7. Tirmidhī, in the concluding section of his *Sunan* speaks of reading over material to a *shaiḫh* (ed. publ. Būlāq, 1292/1875, ii. 337 f.).

² Cairo, 1358/1940.

aḥḥbarānā (he informed us), after which he uses 'an, but often he uses 'an throughout. One may contrast this with Ṭayālīsī who, while he often uses 'an, frequently uses some other word to indicate how the information was received. For example, he can use an *isnād* which, literally translated, goes: Abū Dāwūd told us he said, Hammām said, Qatāda told us he said, Zarāra b. Aufā told me from Abū Huraira from the Prophet. Another slightly different goes: Abū Dāwūd told us he said, Shu'ba told us he said, Qatāda informed me he said, I heard al-Naḍr b. Anas telling from Bushair b. Nahik from Abū Huraira that. . . . Here one notes that at certain stages men report not merely that the tradition came from so and so, but that they heard so and so telling how he got it.

There is fairly general agreement that 'an is allowable in certain circumstances. Shāfi'ī (*Risāla*, p. 373) considers its use allowable provided the one who uses it is not a man known to have concealed defects in his transmission of traditions. But he says that, while this is allowable regarding Tradition, a witness in a court of law is acceptable only if he uses such phrases as "I heard", or "I saw". One might imagine, however, that the method of documenting traditions is as important as the method of giving testimony in a court. Muslim, in the introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, has a section on the validity of using a *mu'an'an* tradition as a basis of proof. He holds that if a recognized reliable authority quotes another using 'an, his transmission is authoritative provided the two could have met. He even goes so far as to suggest that it is not necessary to know that they met, although some hold that it must be known that they met at least once. He obviously trusts his authority not to use 'an unless he has really heard the tradition from the one he quotes. He argues that those who disapprove of using 'an are wrong, because some who are known to have met the people they quote sometimes use 'an. That being so, those who disapprove would need to assume that such a transmitter was trying to hide something. Ḥākim¹ recognizes that 'an is allowable when used by people who do not conceal faults, but not when used by people who do. The Khaṭīb² justifies 'an on the ground that to write out the method

¹ *Ma'rifa*, p. 34.

² *Kifāya*, p. 390.

of transmission in detail becomes burdensome, especially when the *isnād* is long. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ¹ also approves of 'an, but only when the people are known to have met one another and the one who uses it is not suspected of concealing faults.

Traditionists speak of the different words which are used to report the transmission of traditions. There are such words as *ḥaddathanī* (he told me), *ḥaddathanā* (he told us), *aḥḥbaranī* (he informed me), *aḥḥbaranā* (he informed us), *sami'tu* (I heard), *anba'anī* (he announced to me), *anba'anā* (he announced to us). In 'Ilm, 4 Bukhārī quotes a statement attributed to Ibn 'Uyayna (d. 198) that he considered *ḥaddathanā*, *aḥḥbaranā*, *anba'anā* and *sami'tu* to be equivalent. He follows this with reference to Companions who used *ḥaddathanā*, *sami'tu* or simply 'an. Bukhārī makes no comments on these quotations, and their appropriateness at the head of the chapter is not very obvious, but presumably he would not have quoted them without comment unless he approved of them. It may be of some interest to notice that the one tradition given in that chapter uses *ḥaddathanā* for the manner in which Bukhārī got it, but the rest of the *isnād* has only 'an.

Ḥākim is very precise in his statement about the significance of the different words.² He says that the preferable view in his opinion and in that of his *shaiḥhs* and the leading men of his time is that one should use *ḥaddathanī* only when one hears a tradition by word of mouth from a *shaiḥh* when no one else is present ; if others are present one should say *ḥaddathanā*. If one reads traditions over to a *shaiḥh* when no one else is present one should say *aḥḥbaranī*, but if one hears another reading traditions over to a *shaiḥh* the word to use is *aḥḥbaranā*. If one submits traditions to a *shaiḥh* and is given licence by word of mouth to transmit them, one should say *anba'anī*. If, however, one receives written traditions from a traditionist in another town without licence by word of mouth, the phrase to use is *ḥataba ilayya* (he wrote to me). He follows this by an *isnād* going back to Shu'ba (d. 160) who told that al-Manṣūr (d. 132) had written a tradition to him. Later, on meeting al-Manṣūr, he asked him about it and he replied, " Did I not tell it to you ? (*ḥaddathtuka*

¹ 'Ulūm, pp. 67 f.

² Op. cit. p. 260.

bihi). When I write to you I have told it to you." This seems to come in rather inconsequently, for no further remark is made although it seems to contradict what Ḥākim has just been saying.

Tirmidhī had already quoted something similar to the views Ḥākim mentions.¹ He attributes to 'Abdallāh b. Wāḥb (d. 197) the same statement about *ḥaddathanī*, *aḥḥbaranī* and *aḥḥbaranā* as we have noted from Ḥākim. But at the same time Tirmidhī quotes Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān (d. 198) as saying that *ḥaddathanā* and *aḥḥbaranā* mean one and the same thing. He also tells that when he read some of Abū Muṣ'ab al-Madanī's (d. 242) traditions to him and asked what he should say, he was told to say *ḥaddathanā*. This suggests that the views expressed by Ḥākim had not become so fixed a century before his time as he says they had in his day.

The Khaṭīb, who died more than half a century after Ḥākim, does not express himself as categorically as Ḥākim does, but in general is content to quote the views of various people of earlier times. The one point on which he does express a definite opinion is where he says that *samī'tu* (I heard) is the term of highest grade,² as people rarely use it of traditions they receive by licence or correspondence, or when they try to conceal defects. Yet he quotes Mu'tamir b. Sulaimān (d. 207) as saying that *samī'tu* is inferior to *ḥaddatha* or *aḥḥbara*, because one can hear traditions when the *shaiḥh* is not formally transmitting them; for there is a difference between merely telling some traditions and holding a formal session to transmit them. Without going into further detail, it is sufficient to say that the Khaṭīb quotes a variety of views expressed by people of the second and third centuries, from which all one can gather is that there was no generally agreed distinction made between the various terms. This view is strengthened by the large number of quotations given at a later date by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ. Indeed, he is the only one I have noticed who clearly recognizes the fact that the practice varied at different times.³ That seems to be the only reasonable conclusion about the whole matter.

There are various views about how traditions should be transmitted, and there are also rules about the transmission of

¹ *Sunan*, ii. 338.

² *Kifāya*, p. 284.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 141.

books containing collections of traditions. Even down to modern times there have been some people who have preserved an *isnād* telling how books have come down to them by a continuous line of transmission traced back to the compiler. Very often details are included of the manner in which the transmission was carried out, and even of the date when this took place. But while this may interest some people it does not have a very practical purpose at the present day. In earlier times, and especially before the invention of printing, such a practice did have importance, and because of that it is not surprising that it should have continued to a much later date. But one is interested to notice that Nawawī (d. 676), in the introduction to his commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, quotes Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ as saying that in his time and for a long time before it the connected transmission of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* was not important.¹ I have not been able to find any such statement in *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth*. Presumably Nawawī is quoting some other work, but one wonders a little about this, because Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ gives many rules regarding the methods of transmitting works on Tradition, mentioning among them regulations about writing on one's copy the manner in which one received the material. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ says that one should not only verify one's copy, but should also add the *isnād* telling how it was successively transmitted.² When one examines manuscripts of compilations of Tradition one usually finds the writer's *isnād* appended. Nowadays we have printed copies of the great compilations, and while they are usually traced to some important scholar at an early date, there is no attempt to trace the lineage down to the date of publication. One is satisfied nowadays with a printed copy which has been verified as a correct version of the original.

It has been possible in the space at our disposal to consider only a few aspects of the subject. For example, traditionists had other branches of the study of the men whose names appear in *isnāds* besides those we have considered. They also developed a large number of technical terms to distinguish different grades of tradition as well as different grades of transmitter. We have confined ourselves to some of the standards applied, and it must

¹ Cairo, 1283/1866, 5 vols. See i. 9.

² *ʿUlūm*, p. 183.

have been apparent that these include some which were not universal in the early days before the canonical collections were compiled. The authority of early scholars is frequently quoted, but even granting that these quotations are all genuine, one notices that the views expressed often vary, and so it cannot be assumed that the principles set out by later writers were always in force. Much of the material we have been considering is rather an attempt to give an appearance of a regular system which did not necessarily always prevail. But while such principles may not have been applied by all the compilers of books of Tradition, they formed a method by which works could be judged, and they also gave guidance to people of later times regarding their transmission of the material which came down to them.

The more one considers Tradition the more one is impressed by the immense amount of study which has been devoted to it. One would imagine that with so many minute details everything should be very accurately preserved, yet we find variants occurring between different versions. But there is a more fundamental difficulty with which these studies cannot deal satisfactorily. Even in the most authoritative collections there are many traditions which the candid observer cannot accept as genuine; but the damage was done long ago and there is no means of proving conclusively how the obviously spurious traditions came to be accepted as genuine. The community was careful to reject many spurious traditions, and yet it clearly preserved many which are to be found in books which few good Muslims would dare to question. This makes one feel that the vast structure of learning which has been erected is something in the nature of a façade to decorate a building which is not quite so stable as appearances would suggest. But when one says this, it is necessary to add that the scholars who engaged in this earnest study were honest men who tried their best to preserve what they felt to be a basis of Islām second only in importance to the Qur'ān itself.

STUDIES IN THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE NEAR EAST

I: THE DERIVATIONS OF THE NOMENCLATURES OF THE CULTURES OF THE EGYPTIAN PALAEOLITHIC AND PRE-DYNASTIC PERIODS

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ALTHOUGH the present article¹ is intended mainly to give the derivations of the various nomenclatures of the PALAEOLITHIC, NEOLITHIC and CUPROLITHIC cultures of Ancient Egypt, it also includes the classical names of certain sites as well as a brief description of the burial customs, etc., of early times in the Nile Valley. The author's indebtedness to the various works cited is

¹ Abbreviations used are: AP = W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* (1956); BC = G. Brunton and G. Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilization* (1928); BEC = G. Brunton, "The Beginnings of Egyptian Civilization", in *Antiquity*, iii (1929); CA = Rizkallah Macramallah, *Un Cimetière Archaique de la Classe Moyenne du Peuple à Saqqarah*, Cairo Museum (1940); CE = Alan Rowe and John F. Healy, *Cyrenaican Expeditions of the University of Manchester 1955-57* (1959); DET = G. A. Reisner, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb down to the Accession of Cheops* (1936); DF = G. Caton-Thompson and E. W. Gardner, *The Desert Fayum* (1934); DP = W. M. F. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*; Hu (1901); EA = G. Brunton, in R. Engelbach (editor), *Introduction to Egyptian Archaeology*, Cairo Museum (1946); ECG = J. Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, Survey of Egypt (1942); EG = E. Drioton et J. Vandier, *L'Égypte* (1952); FI = W. Watson, *Flint Implements*, Brit. Mus. (1950); ME = W. M. F. Petrie, *The Making of Egypt* (1939); MED = W. M. F. Petrie, *Medum* (1892); MUM = E. A. W. Budge, *The Mummy* (1925); NC = J. L. Forde-Johnston, *Neolithic Cults of North Africa*, Liverpool University (1959); NL = V. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East* (1952); PCT = Alan Rowe, "A Provisional Chronological Table of the Prehistoric and Historic Ages of Palestine", in *Quarterly Statement*, Palestine Exploration Fund: Part I, 1954, pp. 76 ff., Part II, 1955, pp. 176 ff.; PE = W. M. F. Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt* (1920);

obvious.¹ The forms of the Arabic (Egyptian) geographical names generally follow those in certain recent English publications of the Cairo Museum and the Survey of Egypt. Pharaonic dates are from *EG*, pp. 627 ff.

PART A

PALAEOLITHIC ("OLD STONE") PERIOD

*Between 500,000 to 250,000 years ago*² until about 10,000 B.C.

The cultures of this early period³ are usually divided into three sections, mostly with sub-phases, the latter generally named after "Type Stations" in Egypt (= TS) or other regions where the individual cultures were first found.

In the majority of cases, as Drioton points out, the PALAEOLITHIC flint implements—the sole witnesses to the activity of man in Egypt during this period—were recovered from the high surface of the desert including the ancient rivers of the dried-up oases and, fortuitously, the actual "caravan" routes, also from terraces at the sides of the Nile Valley. The LOWER and MIDDLE PALAEOLITHIC examples came from the upper terraces,⁴ while, as to the UPPER PALAEOLITHIC ones, those of the EPILEVALLOISIAN type have been recovered in abundance from the lower or fluvial terraces at the north and south of the country. *EG*, pp. 22 f.; *NL*, p. 32.

PH = A. Vayson de Pradenne, *Prehistory* (1940); *PL* = O. H. Myers, "Prehistory of Libya", *Handbook on Cyrenaica*, ii, Civil Affairs Branch, British Military Authority, Cyrenaica (n.d., but published during the second World War); *PM* = K. S. Sandford and W. J. Arkell, *Palaeolithic Man and the Nile Valley in Nubia and Upper Egypt* (1933); *PV* = A. Scharff, "Some Prehistoric Vases in the British Museum", in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xiv (1928); *TM* = K. P. Oakley, *Man the Tool-Maker*, Brit. Mus., Nat. Hist. (1958); *SI* = C. T. Currelly, *Stone Implements*, Cairo Museum (1913).

¹ Want of space precludes a much fuller bibliography.

² This uncertain commencement date is given in *PL*, p. 2. The closing date for the period is suggested in *EG*, p. 19.

³ For some details of the PALAEOLITHIC period of Egypt as a whole see especially *EG*, pp. 19-25, 59; *FI*, pp. 22 ff.; *NC*, pp. 13 ff.; *NL*, pp. 16 ff.; *PH*, pp. 143 ff.; *PL*, pp. 1 ff. (references to the pluvial and interpluvial periods of the plateaux neighbouring the Nile Valley and the final desiccation—all due to the advancing and retreating of the ice-cap over Europe); *PM*; *SI*, pp. 5 ff.

⁴ For TS, cf. *EG*, p. 23.

The habitations, erected no doubt with light materials on account of the clemency of the climate, have disappeared without leaving any traces. Drioton, loc. cit.

No cemeteries have so far been recognized as belonging to the PALAEOLITHIC period, but some pieces of mineralized blackened bone—the oldest human remains so far found in Egypt¹—came from “Sebilian strata of late Mousterian age” (doubtless the EPILEVALLOISIAN culture) at *Qâw el-Kebîr* (= Antaeopolis), Upper Egypt. *ME*, pp. 1 ff. Cf. our Section (3)—culture (e).

SECTION (1)—LOWER PALAEOLITHIC

- (a) PRE-CHELLIAN (var., CHALLOSSIAN²). *PM*, p. 28, n. 3; *PH*, pp. 104, 143 f. TS.—*Quarries of Abbâsiya*, near Cairo. *EG*, pp. 21, 23.
- (b) CHELLEAN (*Chelles-sur-Marne*, E. of Paris). *EA*, p. 11; *EG*, p. 21.
- (c) ACHEULEAN (*St. Acheul*, N. France). *EA*, p. 11; *EG*, p. 21.

Note: According to *EG*, p. 21, the last phase of the LOWER PALAEOLITHIC culture was the S'BAIKIAN (*near S' Baikia fort*, Southern Constantine, Tunisia), but it is shown in *NC*, p. 13, that the S'BAIKIAN was an integral part of a later culture, the ATERIAN—see (f) below. *PH*, pp. 156 f.

SECTION (2)—MIDDLE PALAEOLITHIC

- (d) LEVALLOISIAN (*Levallois-Perret*, Paris). *EG*, pp. 21, 59.

Note: In *PM* the above mentioned culture is termed MOUSTERIAN³ (*Le Moustier*, S.W. France), the true European type of culture of which, however, according to *EG*, p. 21, traces have not yet been found in Egypt. *EA*, p. 11; *FI*, p. 79, Index references; *NC*, pp. 13, 69; *NL*, pp. 17, 19, 32; *PH*, pp. 105, 144, 155; *TM*, p. 96, Index references.

SECTION (3)—UPPER PALAEOLITHIC

- (e) EPILEVALLOISIAN. *EG*, pp. 21, 23, 59.

TS.—*Lower or fluvial terraces at north and south of Egypt*; *Ezbet es-Sebil Qibli*, near Kôm Ombo (= Ombos), Upper Egypt = SEBILIAN LEVELS I, II, —No. I usually termed “Lower” or “Oldest Sebilian” and No. II, “Middle Sebilian”. *PH*, p. 146; *PM*, p. 80.

¹ The oldest human remains unearthed in Palestine—belonging to a member of the so-called “Mount Carmel” people—were in a cave with FINAL ACHEULEAN deposits. *PCT*, Part I, p. 77.

² *Plateau of Chalosse* (Landes), S.W. France.

³ Bovier-Lapierre recalls that the favourite CHELLEAN and ACHEULEAN weapon for hunting and war, the “coup de poing” (a heavy ovoid implement, both pointed and with cutting edges, shaped from a nodule of flint), was abandoned during the “MOUSTERIAN” period, its place being taken by triangular points for tipping lances and javelins. *EG*, p. 11.

Note : In *PM*, pp. 38, 57, the EPILEVALLOISIAN is regarded as "later Mousterian and early Sebilian". Vignard records his finds at Sebîl as a kind of AURIGNACIAN (*Aurignac*, S. France) and was the first to name them "Sebilian". *PV*, p. 265, n. 4. His European parallel is supported by Drioton. The apparent hiatus between the two sub-phases "Middle" and "Upper" = SEBILIAN III (see culture (g) below), suggests that some unknown event of considerable historical importance occurred towards the end of (e), *PM*, pp. 86 f.

- (f) ATERIAN (*Bîr el-Ater* = Tabessa, Tunisia). *EG*, pp. 21, 23, 24.

TS.—*Region of Oasis of el-Kharga* (= Oasis Magna), Western Desert ; *Region of Oasis of El-Laqaïta* ¹ (= Hydreuma, Poeniconon, etc., *ECG*, p. 196), Eastern Desert ; *North-east of Luxor*, Upper Egypt ; *Helwân*, south of Cairo. *EG*, p. 23.

Note : The ATERIAN is a derivative of the North African MIDDLE PALAEOLITHIC (MOUSTERIAN) and is partially UPPER PALAEOLITHIC in date. It is thought by one authority to have originated in Morocco. *FI*, pp. 40 f. ; *NC*, p. 69. According to Drioton the ATERIAN appeared in Egypt towards the end of culture (e), and corresponds to the SOLUTREAN (*Solutré*, S.E. France) and MAGDALENIAN (*La Madeleine rock-shelter*, S.W. France), last phases but one of the UPPER PALAEOLITHIC of Europe. *EG*, p. 21. The ATERIAN people are credited with the invention of the bow-and-arrow. *NC*, p. 157, Index references ; *NL*, p. 20 ; *PH*, pp. 156 f. 165 ; *TM*, pp. 61, 67, 89. The ATERIAN is mixed with the MESOLITHIC (a microlithic or tiny-implement culture—see (g) below) in many of the Egyptian sites mentioned in TS of the present culture (f). *EG*, p. 23.

- (g) MESOLITHIC ("MIDDLE STONE"). ² *EA*, p. 11 ; *EG*, pp. 23 f., 59 ; *FI*, pp. 49 f. ; *TM*, p. 68 ; *PH*, pp. 145 f.

TS.—*Many of the sites mentioned in TS of culture (f)* ; *Ezbet es-Sebîl Qiblî* = SEBELIAN LEVEL III.

Note : Simultaneous use of microlithic flints and bone. Neanthropic in character of workmanship ; suggests the introduction in this part of the Nile Valley of CAPSIAN ³ or Capsian-like influences from North Africa. The culture ⁴ is barely distinguishable from the TARDENOISIAN (*La Fère-en-Tardenois*, N.E. France). *NC*, p. 161, Index references to microliths ; *PM*, pp. 38, 80, 86 ; *PV*, p. 266.

¹ For site, cf. K. Baedeker, *Egypt* (1902), p. 345.

² Watson, for reasons which he outlines, is of the opinion that the term "MESOLITHIC" is inappropriate to the microlithic cultures of North Africa. *FI*, p. 24.

³ From the type-locality *El-Mekta*, near Gafsa (= Latin *Capsa*), Southern Constantine. *PH*, p. 157. Bovier-Lapierre thinks that the CAPSIAN period corresponds to the AURIGNACIAN, SOLUTREAN and MAGDALENIAN periods in Europe. *EG*, p. 11. Cf. NOTES on our cultures (e) and (f).

⁴ It is equivalent to the KEBARAN (*El-Kebara cave*) and the NATUFIAN (*Wady en-Natûf*) of Palestine. *AP*, pp. 59 ff. ; *PCT*, Part I, p. 77.

PART B.

PREDYNASTIC PERIOD

About 10,000 B.C. to 3,000 B.C. (i.e. beginning of First Dynasty)

The term "PREDYNASTIC" is used for all cultures of which there were pastoral and agricultural settlements (or cemeteries) prior to the First Dynasty. It was due to the increasing desiccation of the plateaux at the close of the MESOLITHIC period that the men responsible for these POST-PALAEOLITHIC cultures were restricted to the banks of the Nile, and to the rare regions of land still watered. The cultures themselves are divided into two sections, the first the NEOLITHIC ("NEW STONE") and the second the CUPROLITHIC ("COPPER-STONE"); each section had its sub-phases. *EA*, pp. 11 f., 15.

It was the advance of the cultivation with the gradual rise of the mud level in the Nile Valley that helped to obliterate there all traces (except flints and a few fragments of a single skeleton already mentioned before) of the remains of the cultures and actual bodies of the "nomadic" precursors of the PREDYNASTIC period. Cf. *BEC*, p. 456.

In the PREDYNASTIC cemeteries the bodies as a whole were placed in a contracted position,¹ suggesting comfortable sleep,

¹ The contracted position of the body in private graves obtained practically without exception from the earliest PREDYNASTIC period to the end of the Second Dynasty (2,778 B.C.). After that the half-extended and extended position gradually came into use for the burials of royalty and nobles. On the other hand the contracted position lasted in minor tombs during the Third to Sixth Dynasties (2,778-2,263 B.C.), and for the very poor into the Middle Kingdom (2,160-1,785 B.C.). *DET*, p. 12; *EA*, pp. 205, 209; *MED*, p. 21. The last reference is to the discovery of the tomb-chamber of the noble Ra-nefer, Fourth Dynasty (2,723-2,563 B.C.), which had twelve contracted and two extended burials; the contracted examples lay on the left side with head north and face east. This was at Meydûm, the pharaonic *Mery-Atûm*, "[The Place] Beloved of Atûm", known as *Isiu* in the *Antonine Itinerary* dating from the time of Diocletian (A.D. 285-305). Cf. *ECG*, p. 195. It is now generally accepted that the pyramid on the site, originally a stepped one, was made for Huni, last king of the Third Dynasty. The smooth outer casing may have been added later by his son Sneferu (first ruler of the next dynasty), which might thus have accounted for the belief in subsequent pharaonic times that the pyramid belonged to the latter monarch. Sneferu, however, was actually buried in the northern stone pyramid at Dashhûr; the southern stone pyramid there, first intended as his tomb, was never used because it developed some serious fissures in the interior masonry. The southern pyramid is rhomboidal—it is sometimes called the "Bent Pyramid"; the intention of the builders was to reduce the weight over the sarcophagus chambers and passages.

with head¹ south (or perhaps upstream) and face towards the west ; ² rarely the head was to the north, but even then the face is to the " West-Land ". This region of the setting sun was actually the domain of the two Dynastic gods of the dead, Osiris and Anubis, each of whom was called *Khent-Amentyu*, " Chief of the Westerners (the dead) ". Atûm of Heliopolis was the god of the setting sun itself.

Brunton briefly sums up as follows the evolution of the PRE-DYNASTIC graves. The earlier examples, he says, are small hollows cut in gravel ; their shape is either oval or circular, the latter at least following that of the beehive-like habitations of the age, each of which, built of hand-shaped lumps of mud, had a low narrow door. Recesses were introduced along one side at a rather lower level in graves of the type, which were still made at the end of the later period. Graves with straight sides gradually increased in number ; this in imitation of the dwellings, which changed from

¹ Below the head was sometimes placed a pillow of chaff or other soft material (*EA*, p. 201) ; this recalls the small cylindrical pillows of grass we found in poor burials of Early Christians at Meydûm—which is in Middle Egypt. (At Cyrene we came across early Christian rock-cut slot graves with a small ledge for the head left at one short end of the floor. *CE*, p. 2). In Dynastic times in Egypt a head-rest, frequently of wood, was occasionally put below the neck of the deceased ; but in some instances only small models of it were buried with the body. The use of the head-rest and of words of power in certain Chapters of the Theban *Book of the Dead* ensured that the head of the deceased should be " lifted up in the horizon of heaven " (CLXVI) and that air and water always be available there (LV, LXI, LXII—incribed on a head-rest of the lady Aâwa in the British Museum). In the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (663-525 B.C.) another kind of *hypocephalus* came into fashion. This was a circular sheet of papyrus mounted on linen stiffened with plaster and moulded to the back of the head of the mummy. It bore extracts from Chapter CLXII of the Saitic *Book of the Dead*, enabling the head and other parts of the body to retain their natural heat in the tomb. *MUM*, pp. 246 ff., 476 ff.

² From the First Dynasty onwards the bodies were laid on the left side, head generally to the north, with the face directed towards the offering-place on the east side of the superstructure of the tomb, and, consequently, towards the rising sun. No such offering places have been found attached to PREDYNASTIC graves, but if any did exist they were probably on the west side. The change in orientation of head and face in the First Dynasty was evidently due to new religious ideas which doubtless prevailed as a result of the transition from the semi-barbarism of the PREDYNASTIC period to the higher civilization resulting from the conquest of Lower Egypt by Upper Egypt and the unification of the " Two Lands " under Menes. *DET*, p. 12 ; *EA*, p. 205 ; *CA* (full details of an interesting First Dynasty cemetery at Saqqâra).

the round hut-types to rectangular houses of mud brick. At the very end the rectangular graves were lined, and sometimes floored, with brickwork; the poor were occasionally placed in or under large household pottery bins. *EA*, pp. 15, 201. For fuller details about the graves and burials, cf. *DET*, pp. 1 ff., 238, 341 ff; *EG*, pp. 30 ff. (NEOLITHIC cemeteries)¹ and pp. 37 ff. (CUPROLITHIC cemeteries).

In the following brief details of the NEOLITHIC and CUPROLITHIC cultures "S.D." refers to Petrie's system of "Sequence Dating" expressing in numerical order the relative dates of the various PRE-DYNASTIC sites and of the First Dynasty itself. The last phase of the NEOLITHIC culture, the TĀSIAN (*Deir Tāsa*, in Upper Egypt) is S.D. 20; the CUPROLITHIC culture ranges from S.D. 21-64, and the First Dynasty from S.D. 65-82.² The numbers S.D. 1-19 are reserved for any possible discoveries of cultures before S.D. 20. *DP*; *EA*, p. 19; *ME*, p. 9; *PE*.

FIRST SECTION. NEOLITHIC

*About 10,000 B.C. to between 6,000 and 5,000 B.C.*³

As excellent general accounts of this culture of the very first farmers in Egypt are given by Gordon Childe,⁴ Forde-Johnston,⁵ Drioton⁶ and others, we shall mostly confine ourselves to the names of the Type Stations themselves (= TS) and to mentioning in passing that man had now commenced to make pottery—see *DET*, pp. 346 f.—and to perfect his tools and weapons, polishing his axes and fashioning his arrow-heads with much skill. The question of the contemporaneity or otherwise of many of these stations is at present rather an open one.

MIDDLE EGYPT (*FAYYŪM*,⁷ from the old Egyptian *Pa-im*, Coptic *Phiom*, "The-Lake").

TS.—*Kom Aushīm* (= Caranis); *Madīnet Dimai* (= Socnopaiu Nesos); *Qasr el-Sāgha* ("Castle of the Goldsmiths?"), etc. *DF*; *EG*, pp. 27 f., 59; *ME*,

¹ For the TĀSIAN (late NEOLITHIC) burials, cf. *BEC*, pp. 465 ff.

² Recent discoveries have shown that the First Dynasty began at S.D. 65 and not at S.D. 78 as was once thought. *PCT*, Part II, p. 179; cf. pp. 176 ff. for the dynasty dating.

³ *EG*, p. 19.

⁴ *NL*, pp. 31 ff.

⁵ *NC*, pp. 17 ff.

⁶ *EG*, pp. 25 ff.

⁷ Two cultural stages, "A" and "B", the former the earlier one.

pl. I; *NC*, pp. 17 f. and references; *NL*, pp. 35 f.; *PH*, pp. 147 ff., Fig. 31; *PV*, pp. 271, 276; *TM*, p. 31.

LOWER EGYPT

TS.—*El-Omâri*, near Cairo; *Merimda*, near Abu Ghâlib and Beni Salâma villages, western edge of Delta. Both sites had cultures related to stage "A" of Fayyûm culture. *DET*, p. 341; *EA*, pp. 15 f., 20, n. 1; *EG*, pp. 27 f.; *NC*, pp. 17 f.; *NL*, pp. 36 ff.; *PH*, p. 148.

UPPER EGYPT

TS.—*Deir Tâsa*¹; *Gabalein* (= Crocodilopolis, Aphroditopolis, Patmyris); *Qattâra*; *Tâkh*. *BEC*, pp. 465 ff.; *EG*, pp. 27 f.; *ME*, pl. II, Nos. 1-9; *NC*, p. 18; *NL*, pp. 33 ff.; *PH*, pp. 147 f.²

SECOND SECTION. CUPROLITHIC

Between 6,000 and 5,000 B.C. to 3,000 B.C.

In Egypt copper was unknown before the BADARIAN and AMRATIAN phases of the above mentioned culture,³ but even then, as pointed out by Forde-Johnston, the *basic* economy would still be NEOLITHIC.⁴ Drioton has given an up-to-date account of the CUPROLITHIC culture and listed the sites in which it appears, two only of which, namely at Maâdi and Heliopolis (= On of *Gen.* xli. 45; *El-Matarîa*), are in Lower Egypt, and not far from Cairo. The rest are in various other parts of Egypt, including the region of the *Oasis of El-Laqeita*.⁵ We are only concerned here with the four main typical phases of the culture, which are now named in chronological order:

1. BADARIAN (*El-Badâri*, near Deir Tâsa, Upper Egypt). S.D. 21-29. BC; *BEC*, pp. 458 ff.; *DET*, p. 341; *EA*, pp. 16 f.; *ME*, pp. 4 ff., pl. II, Nos. 10-18; *NC*, p. 19; *NL*, pp. 42 ff.; *PH*, pp. 148 f.; *PV*, p. 266.
2. AMRATIAN (*El-Amra*, part of Abydos, Upper Egypt); var. "NAQÂDA I"⁶ or "FIRST CIVILIZATION". S.D. 30-34 (for early period), 34-37 (for late period). *EA*, p. 19; *ME*, pp. 15 ff., pls. VI-XIV; *NC*, pp. 19 f.; *NL*, pp. 50 ff.; *PH*, pp. 150 ff.; *PV*, pp. 264 ff.
3. GERZEAN (*Girza*, near El-Riqqa, Middle Egypt); var. "NAQÂDA II" or "SECOND CIVILIZATION". S.D. 38-44 (early period), 45-60 (late period).

¹ The TÂSIAN appears to be a sub-phase of the BADARIAN, the oldest CUPROLITHIC culture. *NC*, p. 18; *NL*, p. 42.

² For NEOLITHIC flints in the Cairo Museum, see *SI*, pp. 47 ff.

³ Cf. *PCT*, Part I, p. 81, for the suggestion that copper was introduced into Egypt from the north. Bronze did not come into general use there before the Middle Kingdom, c. 2,160 B.C. onwards.

⁴ *NC*, p. 17.

⁵ *EG*, pp. 33 ff., 60. For *Maâdi*, cf. *NC*, p. 21 = NAQÂDA II or Early Dynastic in date.

⁶ The origin of the terms NAQÂDA I and II is explained in *NL*, p. 50, n. 1.

DET, p. 341; *EA*, p. 19; *ME*, pp. 31-35, 43-47, pls. XV-XXVIII; *NC*, pp. 18, 20 f.; *NL*, pp. 61 ff.; *PH*, pp. 152 f.; *PV*, pp. 264 ff.

4. SAMAINNEAN (*El-Samâyna*, near Hiw = Diospolis Parva, Upper Egypt). S.D. 61-64. *EA*, p. 19; *ME*, pp. 55 ff., pls. XXIX-XXXIII.¹

Cf. also A. H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (1961), pp. 384 sqq.

APPENDIX

(a) For references to pharaonic, classical, Arabic, etc., names of old Egyptian geographical sites as a whole see especially A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (1947); H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des Noms Géographiques*, etc. (1925-31); B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts*, etc. (1927-51); *EA*, pp. 72 ff.; *ECG*.

(b) In connection with the suggested date of O. H. Myers of between half a million and a quarter of a million years ago for the commencement of the PALAEOLITHIC period of Egypt, the Libyan desert, etc. (see Part A), it is interesting to note that according to I. W. Cornwall and M. Maitland Howard, *The Making of Man* (1960), there is *fossil skeletal evidence* from Java and Peking showing the existence in those parts of Asia, about half a million years ago, of the first known true men; they were huge and brutish, used flaked-stone tools and knew how to make fire. They were "followed" about 120,000 years ago in Southern Europe and Western Asia by the rather less primitive Neanderthal men with large brain, men who in turn, between 100,000 and 50,000 years ago, were supplanted in Europe by the appearance of the Cromagnon men, who were physically like ourselves. The "Carbon 14" method may of course eventually cause the dating mentioned above to be altered in some respects.

(c) The *original* shape of the pyramid of Huni (lit. "I-have-fought") at Meydûm² (of which mention is made in Part B), followed more or less the traditional

¹ For the political history of Egypt during the so-called "Pre-Thinite" period of the legendary "Followers of Horus" (c. 3,300 to 3,000 B.C.), when the country was divided into two kingdoms, the reader may consult *EG*, pp. 129 ff. The northern capital was then Pe, the classical Buto (*Kôm el-Farain*), and the southern one Nekhen, the classical Hierakonpolis (*El-Kôm el-Ahmar*). The interesting history of the "Pre-Horian" period is given in op. cit. p. 160. For the advent of the Dynastic period cf. *EG*, pp. 133 ff.; R. Engelbach, in *Annales du Service*, Cairo Museum, xlii (1943), pp. 197 ff.

² If the suggestion is correct that Sneferu (lit. "He [the god] -makes-me-beautiful") transformed Huni's stepped pyramid into a real pyramid, that event must have happened after the death of Huni; and in this respect we are reminded that king Shepses-ka-ef (lit. "Splendid-is-his-spirit"), following the death of his own father Men-kau-ra (lit. "Abiding-are-the-kas-of-ra" = Mycerinus), actually completed the "Third Pyramid" complex of the latter at El-Gîza. Anyhow, it is significant that the foundation blocks of the smooth outer casing covering the original pyramid of Huni do not (like those of those of the stepped pyramid itself) rest on the rock but on a layer of pebbles about a metre in thickness *above the rock*. See my Meydûm excavation article in *The Museum Journal*, Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, xxii (March 1931), especially Pl. X for section of the pyramid and p. 20 for supporting evidence showing that the Huni structure was

stepped pyramid forms prevalent in the Third Dynasty (2,778-2,423 B.C.), namely : at *Saqqâra* (kings Zoser I and Sekhem-khet, the latter perhaps Zoser II);¹ at *Zâwyet el-Aryân*, south of El-Gîza (kings Kha-bau(?) and Neb-ka-ra);² and at *El-Kôlah*, near El-Kâb, the pharaonic Nekheb = Eleithyaspolis, Upper Egypt (unknown ruler).³ The reason why these early pharaohs constructed stepped pyramids is clearly indicated in Spells 267 and 619 of the "Pyramid Texts" which state that a staircase to heaven is made for the deceased monarch so that he could ascend it to heaven. Cf. I. E. S. Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, Pelican (1955), pp. 235 ff.

Note: The El-Kôlah pyramid is unique because its corners are orientated to the cardinal points like the corners both of the Mesopotamian staged *ziggurats* and of the temples, a fact which does not of course necessarily prove there was some Sumerian influence in the orientation of the pyramid (?). Incidentally the

originally intended to be a stepped one. Included in this evidence is the fact that blocks of stone of the pyramid bear the painted names of several sub-gangs of builders actually called "Step-Pyramid", the hieroglyph for the pyramid indicating variously a structure of two, three or four steps (op. cit. Pl. VI). In this connection it will be seen in my forthcoming article in the BULLETIN on some features of the El-Gîza pyramids (to which certain architectural and other features in the present article form a kind of background) that the nomenclatures of boat-crews were early transferred to the various classes of workmen employed on pyramids, quarries, etc. The MAIN GANG which, in the case of a pyramid and of a royal boat, had the name of the reigning king included in its title, was divided into WATCHES, such as Port, Starboard, Bow, Stern and Hold (?). Each watch in turn was itself divided into SUB-GANGS of which, as we have seen in the case of Huni's pyramid, the "Step-Pyramid" one is an example.

Professor H. W. Fairman whom I have consulted on the translations of some of the royal names informs me that the *kau* (kas) in the name of Mycerinus here probably means the divine force or attributes. My Meydûm excavation article is rather out of date in parts, and due to circumstances which occurred after the manuscript had left my hands and also due to the fact that I never saw the proofs, is incorrect as regards certain bibliographical reference-numbers in the text.

¹ The Sekhem-khet pyramid was unfinished (M. Zakaria Goneim, *The Buried Pyramid* (1956)).

² According to Reisner the pyramid of Kha-bau (?)—the so-called "Layer Pyramid"—dates from the Second Dynasty (*DET*, pp. 134 ff.); the neighbouring one of Neb-ka-ra was not completed, but was evidently intended to be a stepped one.

³ The El-Kôlah pyramid is a small one of three steps; it is 9.40 + m. high and 18.5 m. long at each side of the base. No burial chamber has yet been found (J. Stiénon, in *Chronique d'Égypte*, xlix (January 1950), pp. 43 ff.). As to the orientation of the pyramid in question it must be remembered that in the early royal tombs at Abydos, etc., the normal orientation is not astronomical but is north-south parallel to the valley. Cf. *DET*, p. 424, also map of Abydos tombs (facing p. 428), many of which have *ziggurat*-like orientations due to following the local "valley-north". So it would seem that the El-Kôlah pyramid was perhaps orientated according to the archaic "valley" tradition, less possibly to Sumerian influence (?).

earliest known example of the *ziggurat*—which dates not later than c. 3,250 B.C. as Mr. C. Burney informs me from recent information in his possession—is apparently the archaic one, often called “The White Temple”, consecrated to the sky-god Anu at Uruk, the Erech of Gen. x. 10, and the modern *Warka*. This structure consists of an artificial “mountain”, irregular in shape, its corners orientated as usual to the points of the compass. On its summit is a small temple erected on a “terrace”. A stairway leads up from the ground level to the summit. The sloping sides of the “mountain” bear traces of buttresses of brick, with short round timbers between the buttresses (cf. H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (1958), pp. 5 f.; André Parrot, *Sumer* (1960), pp. 64 ff.). Another *ziggurat*, perhaps Early Dynastic in date, may exist inside the one of Ur-Nammu at Ur, a king who reigned from 2,124-2,107 B.C., that is to say during the Third Dynasty of that town (see L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations V*, “The Ziggurat and its Surroundings” (1939), pp. 98 ff.). Following the latest authorities on the subject it may be said in general terms that the *ziggurat* was a tower for facilitating the last part of the descent of the god from heaven to earth in order to dwell among men. The small temple on the summit was called *Shakhuru*, i.e. “Waiting-Room”; the priests remained there, as the faithful believed, in order to receive the god on his visitations. After the reception the god was supposed to descend the stairway leading down to the divine residence at earth level (in which he would be accommodated during his sojourn in this world), later on ascending the *ziggurat* on his way back to heaven, just as did the divine and dead pharaoh of Egypt mount his stepped pyramid at the beginning of his own journey to the celestial regions above. The *ziggurat* reminds us of the ladder (*sullam*) seen by Jacob in his dream, upon which the “angels (*mal'ah*, ‘divine-messengers’) of God” were ascending and descending (Gen. xxviii. 12). The tower of Babel, i.e. “Gate-of-God” (Gen. xi. 4-9) is a *ziggurat* (cf. A. Parrot, *Ziggurats et Tour de Babel* (1949); *La Tour de Babel* (1953)). Herodotus (i. 181) mentions the *ziggurat* of Babylon which existed in his time.

(d) A few *stepped mastabas* are known: at *Saqqāra* (Nebet-ka, time of king Udimu, First Dynasty;¹ at *Beit Khallāf*, Upper Egypt (kings Zoser I and

¹ For details of the steps, which survive on the north, south and east sides of the mastaba, cf. W. B. Emery, in *Annales du Service*, Cairo Museum, xxxviii (1938), pp. 456 f., Pl. LXXVIII. As during the LATE GERZEAN period—see Part B, Second Section—and the early part of the First Dynasty of Egypt, the latter country was in contact with the Jemdet Nasr culture of Mesopotamia it is perhaps just possible that this culture brought with it into Egypt (*Saqqāra*) the idea of a stepped structure of some kind, employing it only in a sepulchral connection. However that may be, the mastaba of Nebet-ka is the earliest known stepped funerary building in Egypt. The culture referred to found its way into the Nile Valley by way of Syria and Palestine (see my remarks in *PCT*, Part ii, pp. 176 ff.; A. Parrot, *Archéologie Mésopotamienne*, ii, (1953), pp. 410 ff.). Arranged in order of dynasties the early *stepped* tombs of Egypt are thus: FIRST DYNASTY—*Mastaba* of Nebet-ka. SECOND DYNASTY (?)—*Pyramid* of king Kha-bau (?), which some would place in the Third Dynasty. THIRD DYNASTY—*Pyramids* of kings Zoser I; Sekhem-khet; Neb-ka-ra; Anonymous (at El-Kôlah); Huni. *Mastabas* of kings Zoser I; Sa-nekht. LATE THIRD OR EARLY FOURTH DYNASTY—*Mastaba* No. 17 at Meydîm.

Sanekht, Third Dynasty); and at *Meydûm*, mastaba No. 17 near the Huni pyramid (unknown royal or private person, late Third or early Fourth Dynasty). The steps in this particular mastaba were discovered by myself in 1929.¹

In conclusion, I must add that my best thanks are due to Professor R. E. Cordingley, who kindly read through parts of the manuscript of this article and made some helpful suggestions; to Mr. T. Donald, who went to much trouble in order to supply me with references to special publications on Mesopotamian archaeology; to Mr. J. L. Forde-Johnston, for lending me a copy of his important *Neolithic Cults of North Africa*; to Mr. W. C. Brice, for bringing to my notice Pradenne's useful *Pre-history*; to Dr. J. D. Latham, for controlling the European renderings of some Arabic geographical names; and, finally, to my late wife Mrs. Olga Serafina Rowe, a linguist of some ability in Latin and modern languages, who was for twenty years my loyal and skilful collaborator both in my excavations in Egypt and Libya and in my task of assembling notes for archaeological articles in the BULLETIN.²

Anonymous. We have already seen how Sneferu introduced the idea of pyramids with smooth outer casings (the *Meydûm* one and the two at *Dahshûr*). For the pyramids as a whole see especially I. E. S. Edwards, *op. cit.*; *EG*, pp. 195 ff.; J.-P. Lauer, *Le Problème des Pyramides d'Égypte* (1952).

¹ A provisional general map showing plans and/or sections of royal tombs and pyramids dating from the First Dynasty to the time of Khufu or Khnum-khufu (lit. "Khnum: He-protects-me" = Cheops) is published in my article on our *Meydûm* excavations, Pl. IX. For more recent maps of the royal tombs at Abydos, Saqqara, etc., cf. *DET*; Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* The latest discoveries of most important royal and private tombs of the First Dynasty are in W. B. Emery, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1938; 1939 = tomb of king Hor-Aha; 1954; 1958). One of the most interesting of these tombs from an architectural point of view is that of queen Her-Neit (reign of Udimu), a mastaba of brick which, as Emery says, had "the combination of two distinct forms of funerary architecture in the one edifice: the *tumulus superstructure of Upper Egypt* embodied within the *panelled . . . mastaba of Lower Egypt*" (see especially *The Illustrated London News* (2 June 1956).

² i.e. "A Contribution to the Archaeology of the Western Desert", xxxvi (September 1953), pp. 128 ff.; xxxvi (March 1954), pp. 484 ff.; xxxviii (September 1955), pp. 139 ff.; xxxix (March 1957), pp. 485 ff.

THOMAS MÜNTZER, HANS HUTH AND THE "GOSPEL OF ALL CREATURES"

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1. *The "Natural Theology" of Thomas Müntzer*

THEOLOGICAL labels have a limited utility value, but they become dangerous when rigidly applied, when the evidence is blurred or over-simplified, or when their nominalist significance is forgotten. The warnings should be remembered when discussing the Reformation radicals, a historical field where typology has been carried to extravagant lengths. Thus, if we had to choose, in terms of the typology of Troeltsch, whether to label Thomas Müntzer a "Spiritualist" or a "Biblicist" we must no doubt opt for the former designation. It calls attention to what differentiates him from Martin Luther: to his stress on the immediate, unmediated work of the Holy Spirit in the human heart, to his insistence on visions and dreams as vehicles of revelation, and to his conviction of his own prophetic calling.

The distinction is mischievous if it leads us to underrate the importance of the Bible for Thomas Müntzer or the extent of his Biblical knowledge. It was remarkable. His writings, and not only his sermons but his correspondence, were as heavily peppered with Scriptural citations as a modern reference Bible. He appeals frequently to the "whole Bible", and his quotations are drawn from all levels of the scriptural testimony. Apart from his general use of the New Testament, the first books of the Old give him his important doctrines about creation, and about the Law, while he draws more heavily than many of his contemporaries on the great prophets, on Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. The Psalms were part of the intimate texture of his mind.

His use of the word "Schriftgelehrter" (Scribe) is in polarity to the use by his opponents of the word "Schwärmer" (fanatic), but his all-out opposition to the Scribes of Wittenberg (and the

word covers not only Luther and Melanchthon but such opponents as Egranus and Urbanus Rhegius) for their obsession with the letter, and with a "false faith", must not obscure the importance for him of the appeal to the "whole Scripture". And the typological label becomes pernicious if it leads us to overlook other important features of his thought and not least that third dimension which with some hesitation we may designate his "natural theology".

We know Thomas Müntzer to have been a voracious reader, a scholar in whose life books really counted,¹ and that he contrived to keep abreast of the latest tools: the new printed editions of the Fathers, and of medieval writers, of the humanist programmes, and of the intricate polemic in which Erasmus, Luther and Karlstadt were involved. Some of this new printed material was exotic and explosive, and scholarship has not yet properly appraised the dangerous potentialities of much of the literature which was printed and re-printed in the first years of the sixteenth century. Our information about Müntzer's reading is haphazard. A casual sentence in a letter, for example, tells us that the pseudo-Joachitic commentary on Jeremiah counted for much with him.² A line in a rather skittish letter from the nun, Ursula,³ tells us (though this we might have guessed) of his familiarity with Suso and Tauler.

Among this explosive material must surely be reckoned the volume of mystical and prophetic writings edited by Le Fèvre, and published in 1513 as "*Liber Trium Virorum et spiritualium virginum*".⁴ This included the Shepherd of Hermas, the writings of Robert Euzès and Huguetinus, but the really important part of the work consisted of the visions of the German mystics Hildegard of Bingen (her famous "*Scivias*"), Elizabeth of Schönau, and Mechtild of Hackeborn. Here was stress on prophetic vocation, and on revelation through dreams and visions, and an

¹ *Thomas Müntzers Briefwechsel*, ed. Heinrich Böhmer and Paul Kirm (Leipzig, 1931), App. 2 and 3. (Hereafter B-K.)

² *Thomas Müntzer, Sein Leben und seine Schriften*, Otto H. Brandt (Jena, 1933), 132. (Hereafter B.)

³ B-K. Doc. 11.

⁴ H. Etienne, Paris, 1513. See A. Renaudet, *Préforme et Humanisme* (Paris, 1954), 621-2, 635-6.

often vehement and apocalyptic criticism of the contemporary church. A reasonable tradition has it that Müntzer had his copy bound together with Tauler's sermons and that the bulky double volume was for him a "vade mecum".¹

There are many elements, perhaps never co-ordinated, in his thought, medieval apocalyptic, radical Hussitism, the teaching of Luther and Melanchthon and Karlstadt, 1517-22. But even more important was the influence of German mysticism as in the fifteenth century it became conflated with the "devotio moderna". That the little "Theologia Germanica" which Luther edited and republished, has left less trace on him than on Karlstadt and Hans Denck is perhaps because in his case the mystical influence had been earlier formed. In Müntzer's case, the influence of Tauler was paramount. Here he found his insistence on conformity with Christ and in following, in suffering, his footsteps: on the need for renunciation, resignation and waiting on God ("Gelassenheit", "Langweil"): on the need for the soul to be purged from lusts and creaturely desires and seek the one will of God. Much of this was fairly widespread fifteenth century piety, and left its mark on such diverse thinkers as Gerson, Staupitz and Oecolampadius.

Within this mystical tradition was a good deal of speculation about the relation of man to the creatures, and of man to the universe, and of both to God (in Eckhart, but remarkable also in S. Hildegard of Bingen) but in the fifteenth century it found a new development in the thought of Italian humanists and in Nicholas of Cusa. A focus for this was the Parisian humanist Le Fèvre. We cannot know if Müntzer was acquainted with two writers who much intrigued the Le Fèvre circle, Raymond Lull and Raymond of Sabunde. If he did know, and make use of, the bold speculations of Raymond's "Theologia Naturalis" he transmuted them into his own theological idiom. Raymond's doctrine of the creatures is set in the major, Müntzer's in minor key. In Raymond there is a remarkable paean on the joy (gaudium) of the creatures which recalls the first fine Franciscan raptures, whereas in Müntzer it is the soured apocalyptic of the Pseudo-Joachitic writings of the Spiritual Franciscans of a later day, and

¹ G. T. Strobel, *Leben, Schriften und Lehren T. Müntzers* (Nürnberg, 1795).

the thought, so striking in Raymond, of the analogy between the service of the creatures to man and that of man in relation to God is something which Müntzer can only think of in terms of suffering.¹ For Raymond, as for most Catholic patterns of salvation, "Love of God" is the key: we might say that for Luther it is "Faith in God": but with Müntzer it is perhaps "The Fear of the Lord" and with even more propriety than in the case of Luther, his might be called a "Theology of the Cross". If we speak of Thomas Müntzer's "Natural Theology" we must not modernize it, as though he were a potential Gifford Lecturer, or as though he were interested in theistic proofs, or in the relation of philosophy to theology. What concerns him is preaching, and polemic, and what he has to say about the evidence in the universe and in the heart of man, about the power and glory of God, never gets far from the Bible and from Christology. What is written in the universe and in the mind of man is "the suffering Christ—in Head and Members".

Of this natural theology there are many hints and allusions in Müntzer's writings, and nowhere a direct and full exposition. His writings were occasional, and few, as compared with the scores of pamphlets from Karlstadt, and the hundreds from Luther. But there are two strands which we may distinguish. First, there is a stress on the existence of faith outside Christendom, among Jews, Turks and unbelievers. His references to them are surprisingly frequent. He had read the Koran (from Cusa onwards a theme of the age) and disputed with Jews. Acts x, the story of the vision of Cornelius, with its emphasis on works was too good a polemic weapon against Wittenberg to miss (as John Wesley used it against the Calvinists later). There is also the well-known preaching technique of playing up the godliness of the outsider in order to rebuke those within the household of faith. But there is more here than apologetic or polemic.

I preach such a Christian faith as does not agree with that of Luther, but which is in conformity with the hearts of the elect in all the world. And even though he were born a Turk, a man might yet have the Beginning of this same faith, that is, the moving (*Bewegung*) of the Holy Ghost, as it is written of Cornelius, Acts x.

¹ See below, p. 509, and Renaudet, *Préréforme*, 485, 520, 521. Both Le Fèvre and Beatus Rhenanus possessed copies of Raymond's "Theologia Naturalis" which was often reprinted; e.g. Deventer, 1484, Strasbourg, 1496, Paris, 1509.

Thus he defends his refusal to meet Luther and Melanchthon in open disputation :

If I am to be given a hearing before Christendom, then those ought to be informed, bidden, invited from all nations of men who have suffered invincible temptation (Anfechtung) found despair in their hearts and through the same been all the time brought to remembrance (durch dieselbe allenthalben erinnert werden). Those are the people I will admit to be my judges.

In an apocalyptic passage, he prophesies :

The Gospel will come into a much higher reality (viel höher ins Wesen) than in the time of the Apostles. Out of many lands and from many strange nations there will come the Elect who will be far superior to us slothful and neglectful Christians . . . see how aforetime from among the heathen were chosen fellows with the Jews . . . and so many of these strange, wild heathen will put the false scribes to shame.¹

The second characteristic of Müntzer's "Natural Theology" is his thought of the relation of the creatures to the Creator, of the parts of the Universe to the whole, of the One and the many. We may begin with the enigmatic sentence which may well be a quotation, which he scribbled on the back of a letter in 1521.

All knowledge of the creatures is to be referred to the Whole, and this is best, for it is knowledge of the works of his hands, which is as praiseworthy as the knowledge of God, when it is understood in terms of the Whole.²

There is a similar reference in the Prague Manifesto (1521) :

I have learned from no scholar . . . how the Whole is the only way in which to understand the parts.³

In the longer German version, which Müntzer worked over at end of November 1521, this is expanded with interesting Scriptural references to 1 Cor. xiii, Luke vi, Eph. iv, and Acts ii, xv, xvii.⁴

¹ To the Elector Frederick, 3 August 1524 (B-K. 64 ; B. 71).

² Ibid. Müntzer seems constantly aware of this wider audience. In a letter to Count Ernest of Mansfeld he threatens to have his letter translated, "and hold you up to ridicule before Turks, heathens and Jews" (22 September 1523, B-K. 44 ; B. 63). The citizens of Prague are told that if they reject his ultimatum they will be "beaten by the Turks in the next years" (B. 61).

³ B. 183.

⁴ "in toto exordienda est omnis scientia creaturarum, que est optima, nam est de operibus manuum suarum, que aequè laudabilis est sicut scientia dei, cum in toto intelligatur" (B-K. 24, 24 June 1521). The attempt of Smirin (*Volks-reformation T. Müntzer's*, p. 110) to read into this a sociological statement is obtuse. The distinction between the works of God and the works of the hands of God is Augustinian and much used by Luther in his first lectures on the Psalms, 1513-15.

The same thought is expressed in a letter ¹ to Hans Zeiss, ² in 1524, "The will of God is the whole over all the parts".³ This thought is allied with the theme of a divine Order (Ordnung) implanted in the creatures, recognized by men as the law is written in their hearts. Thus he declares in the Prague Manifesto : ⁴

I have learned from no scholar of that Order (Ordnung) which is implanted in every creature down to the very smallest word.

He had not understood the Order which is to be found in God and the creature.⁵

It seems that Müntzer had been derided when he had put this doctrine before the Scribes (Urbanus Rhegius)?

I would sooner talk with the Heathen, Turks and Jews about the very smallest of all the words of God and about His Order (Ordnung) and reflect on possessions, ours and towards God . . . they would not receive it when I gave them a brotherly admonition about the ownership of God and of ourselves over the creatures. It is all fanaticism to them. So I say, if you will not learn the truth about the beginning of the Bible, you will understand neither God nor the creatures.⁶

In his last vehement polemic against Luther, Müntzer defends the view that Christ—with all His members, is the fulfiller of the law.

Christ began at the beginning, as did Moses, and He declared the Law from the beginning until the end. That is why He says "I am the light of the World". His preaching is true and moreover so fashioned as a Whole that He took account of human reason also among the godless . . . now I too, through the beginning of the Bible and the Order (Ordnung) of the first distinction, strive after the purity of the divine law, and declare the fulfilment of the spirit of the fear of God . . . thus the Elect have all known from the beginning in their unbelief through the use of the Law (Rom. ii and iv). I set Christ with all His members as a fulfiller of the Law (Ps. 19) for the will and work of God must be perfected through contemplation of the Law.⁷

¹ B. 59.

² "was do sey das ganze adder unvolkomene, welches ist ein gleicheilende mass alle teyle uberlegen" (B-K. App. 6, 143).

³ B. 131. Some such doctrine seems to be part of Karlstadt's Thomism, whose "De intentionibus" (1507) includes "Totum perfecte et distincte non scimus, nisi partes scientes. Et tamen partes non sunt per se in consideratione scientiae de toto, sed per totum."

⁴ B. 59. It would be attractive to amend "wörtlein" to "würmlein" but there seems no evidence to support it.

⁵ B. 61. See also the important letter to Jeori B-K. 61, p. 79, "das sich got anzeygt auffenbart durch dye ordenung yn sich und yn alle creaturen gesetzt".

⁶ B. 184.

⁷ B. 190, 191 ; B-K. 49, 56.

This "natural theology" is Biblical and Christological, and a key sentence is Müntzer's,

Holy Scripture shows nothing else—as all the creatures bear witness—than the crucified Son of God.¹

There is then a revelation of God, in the created universe, and among the heathen. From this man can derive what Müntzer calls "The Beginnings" (Ankunft) of Faith, which will lead them through the "Movement" (Bewegung) of the Spirit, through "Temptation" (Anfechtung) to the real and genuine Faith. There is finally an important testimony to the fact that this was no mere speculative doctrine for him, but part of the plan of salvation which he expounded to his peasant hearers. In 1525 Urbanus Rhegius in a tract against Karlstadt declared :

It is now two years since your comrade Thomas Müntzer wanted to put away the Bible, imagining he could teach the peasants faith out of natural things.²

2. *The Authorship of the Homily "Of the Mystery of Baptism"*

Lydia Müller published in 1938 a collection of early Anabaptist writings.³ It included a tract entitled "Of the Mystery of Baptism, Of the Sign and of the Essence, a beginning of a right and truly Christian life."⁴ It exists only in manuscript versions, one of which, in a shortened form, is contained in the recently re-discovered "Kunstbuch" in Bern.⁵

The authorship is attributed to Hans Huth, though this is not directly claimed in the text. But there is evidence in the Anabaptist trials that this tract, or something like it, was in use among Huth's disciples, and that he used it as a basis for his preaching and teaching.⁶

¹ B. 189.

² Widder den neuen irsall T. Müntzers und D. Andreas Karlstadt (B. iii. 1525).

³ L. Müller, *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnten*, Q.G.T. III (1938).

⁴ Ibid. pp. 13 ff. "Von dem geheimnis der tauf, baide des zeichens und des wesens, ein anfang eines rechten warhaftigen christlichen lebens."

⁵ Codex 464. *Anabaptistarum opuscula germanice*. For a description of this manuscript see H. Fast, *ARG.* (1956), pp. 212 ff. The title of the tract in the "Kunstbuch" is "The beginning of a right and truly Christian life". There are many minor variants between the KB text and that published by Lydia Müller.

⁶ Testimonies of Peutelhans (1527), given in L. Müller, *Kommunismus der mährischen Wiedertäufer* (Leipzig, 1927, ref. Becks Sammlung, 74); Ambrosius Spittelmayer (*Q.C.T. Bayern*, II, Schornbaum, 56); Martin Weischenfelder

Huth¹ himself is a striking figure, the leader of the south German Anabaptists, able to hold his own against such eminent and learned radicals as Denck and Hubmaier. He was a layman, literate, but not academically learned.² He was a Thuringian, from Haina, and lived for many years in the town of Bibra. There he had been a sexton and a wine seller, before turning to the roving occupations of bookbinder and bookseller. The travelling workman, and especially bookseller, has a special importance in England and on the Continent as a carrier of Reformation germs, and Huth's wide itinerancy gave him an interested clientèle in dozens of towns and villages in south Germany and Austria among whom he was to found cells of Anabaptist disciples. Like other radicals in 1524 he was an opponent of infant baptism, though he was not baptized until 1526, at the hands of Denck, after which he became an outstanding leader and the central figure, perhaps the chief organizer of the Augsburg Anabaptists and of the missionary apostolate which went out from that city. He also figured in the famous debates which took place in Nicsburg in Moravia, where his apocalyptic prophecies were a point of opposition between himself and Hubmaier. He was arrested in Augsburg in the autumn of 1527 and underwent repeated interrogations in prison, sometimes under torture. He

(P. Wappler, *Die Täuferbewegung in Thüringen* (Jena, 1933), p. 237). See also U. Rhegius, *Zwen wunderseltzamen Sendbrieff an die Boten gen Augsburg gesandt* (1528), k. ii. The second "Sendbrief" may be a letter of Hans Huth and deserves attention. It is not the same as the letter of Huth to which Rhegius devoted a separate tract and which is printed in L. Müller, *Glaubenszeugnisse*, p. 13.

¹ *Mennonite Encyclopaedia*, ii. 846 (not always accurate); W. Neuser, *Hans Huth* (Berlin, 1913). I am indebted to Dr. W. Neuser for the loan of the manuscript of his Dissertation which was never fully published and never completed. The important documents concerning Huth's trial are in the Stadtarchiv in Augsburg where I inspected them. They were printed by C. Meyer in his important article "Zur geschichte der Wiedertäufer in Oberschwaben," *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg* (1874), pp. 207-53. The documents belonging to Huth are described in a further article in the same journal by F. Roth, *Z des HV f. S und N.* (1900), pp. 38 ff. See also articles by H. Klassen in *MQR.*, July, October 1959.

² He is described by the authorities of Nuremberg as "ain vast gelerter, geschickert gesell" (26 March 1527, Wappler, 245). Urbanus Rhegius says that he had been a student ("Ein sendbrieff Hanns Huth", 1528). He himself said that he had heard Luther and Melancthon at Wittenberg. It is unlikely that he knew Latin.

died as a result of burns, perhaps incurred during an attempt to escape, in December of that year. There is no doubt of the magnetic effect of this Anabaptist Pied Piper, at whose words men left goods, honour, fortune, wife, like the Anabaptists of Erlangen, whose story is a real life anticipation of the opening scene of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress".¹ He became a legendary figure, said to possess a mysterious book of prophecies and a drinking potion one draught from which bound men to him and his doctrines.

That he was a deep and original thinker is less certain. The contents of his notebook are evidence of Biblical study, with an insistence on apocalyptic and on numerology (the number seven seems to have more than a mnemonic value for him). He taught a doctrine of the "seven seals" or "judgments",² and among other preaching heads are the sentences "the destruction of the godless", and "the believers desire vengeance over the godless". For the rest his only printed work is "A Christian Instruction, how the Holy Scriptures should be judged and compared".³ After a short introduction the work consists in the main of sentences from Scripture which appear to contradict one another. This was a theme in the air at this time, having been sharply raised by Erasmus and it seems likely that Huth is dependent on a similar compilation of Denck,⁴ or perhaps (since there are a few citations different in both) from a third document used by both.

Thus, apart from the short "Sendbrief"⁵ in which Huth pleads those acquainted with the eschatological mysteries not to

¹ This very remarkable story deserves to be told at length. The documents were printed by Berbig, "Die Wiedertäufer in . . . Königsberg i. Fr., 1527-8", *D.Z. f. Kirchenrecht*, xiii (1908), 291 ff.; Wappler, 231, 234; Q.G.T., V. 1951; Bayern II; Schornbaum, *Dok.*, 6.115.16.19; etc.

² The statement by L. Müller that the homily "Of the Mystery of Baptism" is the "Book with the seven seals" which Huth used, rests on a misunderstanding by W. Neuser of a document in Roth's article (p. 40), where Huth has simply a series of texts about the seven seals of the Apocalypse. There is no trace of this kind of a thing in the homily "Of the Mystery of Baptism". From other references to the Book of the seven seals it seems to have consisted of a description of the doctrine of Faith, the two sacraments and the four last things.

³ "Ein christlicher unterricht, wie gottliche geschrift vergleicht und geurteilt solle werden" (Müller, *Glaubenszeugnisse*, pp. 28 ff.).

⁴ Wer die warheit warlich lieb hat (1526). H. Denck, *Schriften*, ed. W. Fellmann (1956), pp. 67 ff. ⁵ Printed in L. Müller, *Glaubenszeugnisse*, p. 13.

offend the brethren who have not heard or understood about them, the main source of our knowledge of Huth's thought, and certainly the main evidence for its depth and originality comes from the Homily, "Of the Mystery of Baptism". Of the originality of this tract there can be no doubt at all. It is a remarkable exposition of Mark xvi. 15 which stands out among the radical literature of this early period, and to which I can parallel only that other tour de force, the "Fürstenpredigt" which Thomas Müntzer delivered before the rulers of Saxony.¹ It contains the only full length exposition of the radical "Gospel of every creature", and also a doctrine of faith and of justification, and an interpretation of baptism in terms of suffering which clearly sets out the difference between radical and Wittenberg theology. One is bound to ask whether it fits what we know of Huth's background, and his other writings.

It is at this point that we run foul of an old controversy, recently revived, of the relation of Hans Huth to Thomas Müntzer. For there have been those who would play down altogether the debt of the Anabaptists to the peasant leader.²

It was understandable and proper for Mennonite scholars to expose an ancient calumny which from the time of Melancthon and Bullinger sought to discredit the Anabaptists by fathering the movement on Thomas Müntzer. None the less, the evidence continues to suggest a real link between him and the south German Anabaptists, first in the influence of his writings, and second in that apocalyptic ferment which begins with Müntzer, persists in Huth, Römer, Bader, and others and continues until the disaster at Münster in 1536. The battle of Frankenhausen discredited Müntzer and ended his "realized eschatology". But what of the thousands of followers of him and other radical peasant leaders? A few of the more doughty among them, like Hans

¹ There is translation of the "Fürstenpredigt" by G. H. Williams in *Spiritual and Anabaptist writers* (Library of Christian Classics, xxv (1957), 47 ff. and a valuable edition in C. Hinrichs, *Thomas Müntzers politische Schriften* (Halle, 1950).

² See articles by H. S. Bender, *Th. Ztschft.* (1952); R. Friedmann, "Thomas Müntzer's relation to Anabaptism," *MQR.* (April 1957). The latter is an unhappy example of the lengths to which prejudice can go. Essays by Mecenseffy, Baring and Zschäbitz have shown how very one-sided this attempt has been.

Römer, were bold enough to confess ten years later, that Müntzer was their "spiritual father".¹ The recently published Strasbourg documents show that as early as 1527 the Strasbourg leaders, Bucer and Capito, recognized that Müntzer had disciples who became Anabaptists.²

The battle of Frankenhausen did not immediately end the apocalyptic hopes among Müntzer's followers. The ferment which was at its height at Easter 1525 lasted at least until Whitsun (Pentecost remained a focus for Huth's hopes for some time), and Huth seems to have preached the overthrow of the godless in a sermon at Bibra on 31 May,³ though the collapse of peasant resistance led him to substitute a vaguer apocalyptic in the following months, stressing the supernatural inauguration of the new age.

This oratorical vehemence does not tally with Huth's statement under interrogation that he did not understand Müntzer's teaching.⁴ But by then he had the most pressing reasons for not emphasizing any association. He had to admit that Müntzer, on the run, had stayed in his house at Bibra "for a night and a day" and had entrusted to him a manuscript, "given him a book to print, on the first chapter of Luke", as he was a bookseller by trade.⁵

¹ Hans Römer's charges against Erfurt that they had slain his "Father"—"seinen Vater Thomassen Muntzers erwürget" (P. Wappler, *Tauferbewegung*, p. 363).

² "Etlich teuffer des Muntzers junger" (Q.G.T., vii; Elsass, 1. Teil, ed. Rott (1960), Doc. 80, p. 105 (*Warnungsschrift der Strassburger Prädikanten*), 2 July 1527.

³ Meyer, pp. 249, 251; G. Zschäbitz, *Zur mitteldeutschen Wiedertäuferbewegung* (1958), pp. 49-76.

⁴ Ibid. p. 243.

⁵ Ibid. It is not clear whether this was on TM's flight from Allstedt to Mühlhausen in August 1524, or from Mühlhausen to Nuremberg later in the year. (In any case, not as the *M.E.*, ii. 847, seems to suggest, after Frankenhausen.) The book seems to have been the "Ausgedruckte Entblösung" which bears the imprint Mühlhausen. This would tally with Huth's statement. But Brandt says it was really printed in Nuremberg where most of the edition was confiscated. If so, why should TM give it to Huth when he himself was on the way to that city, where as he tells us, he spent his time in getting his writings printed? (Brandt, pp. 243 ff.; B-K. 71). H. Baring (*ARG.* (1959), 2, "Hans Denck und Thomas Müntzer") assumes that it was en route to Nuremberg, and that Pfeiffer was with Müntzer. There is no word of this in the document.

Moreover, he had turned up at the rebel camp on the eve of the battle where, according to his own account, he was arrested by the peasants and released at the orders of Müntzer. There he remained, and heard Müntzer preach several times. His excuse that he hoped to sell books among them sounds a little disingenuous and prompts the thought that perhaps, like David of old, in the naughtiness of his heart he was come that he might see the battle. He has left some vivid details of proceedings in the rebel camp.¹

And here a dilemma emerges for those who would discount the association between Hans Huth and Thomas Müntzer. If the relationship were as casual as Huth stated, then we must give up the attribution of the homily "Of the Mystery of Baptism" to him, and its use as a major source for Huth's thought. For its relation to the vocabulary and teaching of Müntzer is so close that it cannot be explained in terms of a common background of radical jargon and mystical doctrine. Either this tract was written by Huth, who in that case emerges as one who was thoroughly soaked in Müntzer's doctrines, or this writing is by Thomas Müntzer himself, trimmed, edited and even interpolated perhaps, but bearing the imprint of Müntzer's originality upon it. For, as we shall see, it is not that Müntzer's doctrines, which are fully expounded elsewhere, are echoed in summary hints in this tract—though this is true to a certain extent, but that allusions and half-developed doctrines in Müntzer's writings are here worked out in a logical and extended form.

The possibility that we might have here a lost treatise of Müntzer himself was first suggested by Lydia Müller.² She rejected the idea on the ground that the author was apparently ignorant of Greek and Latin. She obviously grounded this judgement on the exegesis of the text of the Homily (Mark xvi. 15)

¹ There is an enigmatic sentence in a letter of TM to the Allstedt citizens written from Mühlhausen at the end of April. "My publisher (Drucker-printer) will arrive in a few days time" (B. 75). The reference is vague, might refer to Hans Römer, and cannot be pressed. But on his own showing, it could fit Huth. The Anabaptist depositions in Franconia show that he was by no means reluctant to talk to them about his experience at Frankenhausen, and of what he had seen and heard.

² L. Müller, *Kommunismus*, p. 74, n. 1. "His name is unknown. He knew neither Greek nor Latin—otherwise one would almost imagine an unknown writing of Thomas Müntzer before one."

which is interpreted "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel of every creature". Here the Dative "Aller kreatur" is treated as if it were the Genitive singular with which it is identical, an interpretation impossible in the Greek or Latin. None the less it is a possible interpretation, though equally forced of the Latin of Colossians i. 23: "Quod praedicatum est in universa creatura", the text to which the Homily immediately appeals, and on which, together with Romans i. 20, the "gospel of all creatures" really relies. This exegesis is accepted by Hans Schlaffer, a disciple of Huth who also expounds this gospel and who was a former Catholic priest and who presumably knew enough Latin to know that such an exegesis would not be permissible from the Latin of Mark xvi. 15. Might not the author of the Homily have found Mark xvi. 15 an irresistibly apt opportunity to expound in one text his natural theology, his teaching about faith and his conception of Baptism?

Moreover, if "aller kreatur" is only possible in the German, there are other quotations where the Latin may be preferred to the German. Thus if we do not press his use of "Gleichnis" where the Vulgate has "Parabolis" and Luther "Sprüche" on the ground that "Gleichnis" is a common usage in early German Bibles, the use of "Urteil" for judgements (Vg "Judicia") is rarer (ML "Rechte", Zw "Ordnungen").¹

That there are expressions in the tract which come from Müntzer has been pointed out by Mecenseffy and Baring, as well as by Lydia Müller.² They are more numerous, however, than anybody has yet indicated, and extend from technical vocabulary into the wider field of theological doctrine. Thus if we do not press the word "Scribe" (Schriftgelehrter) as a radical commonplace, there is the expression "Brother Soft Living" (Bruder Sanftleben) which Müntzer applies specifically to Luther. There is the constant denunciation of the parsons as carnal, covetous and precious (wöhlüstigen, geizigen, zarte); they behave with Scriptures like Apes (wie die Affen); use Scripture as a cloak (Deckel, Schannnddeckel) and lead astray and pervert the

¹ I am indebted to Dr. F. W. Ratcliffe of Manchester University Library for expert judgement at this point. Vg = Vulgate; ML = Luther's Bible; Zw = The Zurich, Zwinglian Bible.

² Mecenseffy, *ARG*, 47, 2, pp. 257-8; Baring, *ARG*, 50, 2, pp. 155 ff.

poor common man ; they teach a false (ertichten, erdichten, gedichteten) Faith ; they tell simple folk " Only believe ", and pretend that there are mysteries too high for them ; they deride those who disagree with them as fanatics, treating them in fact as the Scribes once treated Christ ; they erect a new and worse kind of knavery than Popery ; they suggest that Christ has made sufficient atonement for sin and they apply to Christ alone, what is true of Christ, Head and Members. The whole polemical preamble of the tract abounds in such exact Müntzerian phraseology, and there is no single idea in this opening part of the homily which cannot be paralleled in his writings.

There is a common Taulerian and mystical vocabulary : " Gelassenheit ", " Langenweil " : the " friends of God " (Tauler, Suso, but here as in T.M. " Elect friends of God ") : there is reference to the Beginning (Ankunft), the Movement (Bewegung) and to " Anfechtung ". Common to both is the imagery in this connection of water, storms and waves, and a reference to the sign of Jonah. Then there are turns of expression which are characteristic of Müntzer's exuberant and hyperbolical style. He is wont to appeal, as does the homily, to the " whole world " and to " the whole Scripture " and to say that this or that existed " from the beginning ". Both say " the world is full, full (voll, voll ¹) " and both use the cry " Oho ! " and like the word " allerhöchst ". Important for both are Biblical citations such as " The clean fear of the Lord " (Ps. 19), the " Fear of the Lord is the Beginning of wisdom " (Ecclus. i. 14) and " these last dangerous times " (2 Tim. iii, 1). The subtitle of the tract, " Of the Beginning of a right and truly Christian life " is thoroughly Müntzer.² There is a long list of technical words : they include, as theological phrases common to the tract and to Müntzer : " Geheimnis " (mystery) : " Urteil " (Judgement—scores of times in Müntzer and a key word in the tract, as also for Huth) : " Ordnung " (order, ordinance) : Bund, (Covenant) : " Bewegung "

¹ So T.M. " Furstenpredigt ", " Er will die Welt . . . voll, voll machen ". Also Ordnung und Berechnung. " Himmel und erde voll, voll." The Bern KB of the homily has only one " voll " but the other manuscripts having the harder reading, are to be preferred.

² E.g. the sub title to his " Protestation oder Entbietung " (1524)—" zum anfang von dem rechten Christenglauben und der Taufe ".

(Movement, esp. of the Holy Spirit): the Work of God (Werk Gottes): the Method of God (Kunst, from Lat. *Scientia*?): the witness (Zeugnis) as distinct from the essence (Wesen) of baptism: anxiety about bodily welfare ("Sorge um Nahrung"): the poor common man: real or genuine (recht, rechtgeschaffen) faith, as against false and feigned (ertichten, gedichteten): faith proved by fire: the earnest (ernst) righteousness: conscience (gewissen): both speak of the Church in terms of "Christenheit" and "people of God". There is one major word in the tract which I have only found in Müntzer once, the word "Verwilligung" which occurs in passages relating to the rite of baptism. But the analogy of the Pauline epistles, a literature comparable in size with the Müntzer corpus, suggests that it would be possible for one expression to appear in only one writing.¹

As we have already hinted, this common vocabulary comes from identical doctrine. Both stress the antithesis between the real faith which comes through temptation, and the false, glib faith of the Scribes who can only point to their preaching and to the letter of the Bible. Both insist that there is a revelation through the creatures, which precedes the coming of faith. Both use the parable of the Sower, and use more than once the analogy of a field, which must be ploughed, then cleared of thorns, thistles and stones, which are creaturely lusts, before the seed of the Word can be implanted by God. Both stress the "Movement" of the Holy Ghost through the waves and billows of temptation, and the theme that baptism is in essence this purging by tribulation is described in terms which are used by Müntzer to describe temptation and the coming of faith. Both the tract and Müntzer treat the essence of baptism (as distinct from the sign) as being suffering and tribulation. Both insist that there has to be a complete purging of the heart from bodily and creaturely lusts, and that for this the soul must passively wait on God. Both stress the importance of the solidarity of Christians with Christ, their Head, and that atonement is made by Christ as Head and

¹ It occurs in Huth's short "Sendbrief" (L. Müller, p. 12) but it is not in question that Huth knew the Homily. On the other hand "Verwilligung" appears at least six times in the Tract and appears to be a technical or at least jargon expression about the rite of Baptism. I regard this as the strongest point in favour of Huth's authorship.

Members and not alone as Head. Of critical importance to the argument of the tract, as the bond between its natural theology of the creatures and its Christology, is the expression "the whole of Scripture—and all creatures show nothing else save the suffering Christ in all His members"—to which there is the striking counterpart in Müntzer's "Hoch Verursachte Schutzrede"—"the holy scriptures say nothing else—as also all the creatures show—than the crucified Son of God . . . the suffering Son of God".¹

Moreover, there is one scriptural allusion in the tract which is only intelligible in the light of Müntzer's own version. It occurs in the last section, about baptism (this section is missing from the Bern "Kunstbuch" but style and vocabulary establish it as part of the original manuscript). It describes how God uses the waters of tribulation to flush the soul from creaturely lusts and proceeds :

da wirt der mensch in der Langeweil seiner Zeit in der erduldung Gottes hand ein fertig und bereiter stuel und wonung Gottes

There a man becomes, in the length and waiting time (there is a play on both senses of the word) of his days a ready and prepared seat and dwelling place of God.

The use of the mystical jargon "Langeweil" at this point seems obscure until we turn to the version of Psalm 93 which Müntzer introduced into his "Deutsch Kirchen ampt" at Allstedt (a version he also commended in a letter to the Stolberg brethren in 1523). A central section of the Psalm, which describes how the floods lift up their voice, is characteristically described by Müntzer in terms of the "flood of sin", but the remarkable verses are 2 and 5.

In verse 2 the Latin has

parata sedes tua ex tunc : a saeculo tu es

¹ Tract : "die ganz schrift und all creatur nichts anders anzeigen denn den leidenden Christum in allen seinen gliedmassen" T.M. (Brandt), 189. "Die ganze heilige schrift saget nit anders—wie auch all Kreaturen ausweisen, denn vorn gekreuzigten Sohne Gottes . . . den leidenden Sohn Gottes." That TM means also Christ in Head and Members here can be easily demonstrated from his other writings and correspondence (B-K. 47, 49, p. 58; 38, p. 40).

Müntzer has

Darumb das du ein unwandelbar got bist
Hast du den auserwelten gemacht zu deinem stule

In verse 5 :

Domum tuam decet sanctitudo
Domine in longitudinem dierum

Müntzer has

do siht der mensch das er ein wonung gottis
Sei in der lankweil seinen tage

[Luther follows the Latin, but his rendering of verse 5 " "Heiligkeit ist die Zierde deines Hauses, O Herr, ewiglich ", is completely different from Müntzer.] Dr. Ratcliffe has found no reading similar to T.M. in any pre-Reformation Bible.

Dr. W. Elliger,¹ in an interesting examination of Müntzer's version of this Psalm, has shown how perfectly it illustrates his free use of Scripture. It is, of course, possible that Hans Huth knew this version of Müntzer, for it had been published in the Allstedt liturgy, but I am bound to say that this allusive, almost casual, use of it in the Homily suggests the greater likelihood that this is Müntzer quoting his own version of a favourite Psalm.

The wealth of scriptural allusion in the Homily is itself very like Müntzer. But we know that Anabaptist leaders, like Pilgrim Marbeck, attained a remarkable depth of Biblical learning, and Hans Huth may have been similarly skilled. But we have to ask a further important question. Is there evidence in the Homily of theological and academic learning such as we know that Müntzer possessed but which we cannot predicate of Huth? I suggest there are at least three places where such learning is apparent. There are references to the creatures as reaching their "end", and to man as attaining the "end" of his perfection.² This sounds very much like Aristotelian doctrine, as filtered through fifteenth-century mystical and philosophical speculation.

More important is the following very striking passage :

For the whole world with all creatures is a Book, in which a man sees in work, all the things which are read in the written book. For all the elect from the beginning of

¹ In " So lange es heute ist " (Festschrift R. Herrmann, Berlin, 1957), p. 56 ff.

² It should be said that Hans Huth in his printed " Christlich Unterricht " has a reference to the " highest good ".

the world to Moses have studied in the *Book of all creatures*, and have understood it by their reason, as it is written by nature through the Spirit of God written in the heart, because the whole Law is expressed in terms of the *works of the creatures*.

The second half of this paragraph is closely paralleled in Thomas Müntzer, as we have quoted him above, from this "Hoch Verursachte Schutzrede". But the first paragraph is surely a reminiscence of the "Theologia Naturalis, or Liber Creaturarum" of Raymond of Sabunde?¹

This remarkable book, which was often reprinted and much read in humanist circles in the early sixteenth century, had a still more remarkable preface. Indeed, the preface so exalted natural theology and the evidence to be found in the study of the creatures that it was put on the index in 1595 and omitted from later editions. In this preface, and also in the body of the work,² Raymond teaches that God has given two Books to men, the Book of Nature (or the Book of the creatures), and the written book of Holy Scripture.

The Book of the Creatures is written in terms of the Works of God (facta), that of the Scripture of His words (verba).³ In the preface Raymond extols the Book of the Creatures because unlike Scripture it is not subject to mistakes and glosses. Moreover, and this is an important link with the Reformation radical disparagement of clerical learning, "The Book of the Creatures is necessary and fit for everyman"—for, whereas the Scriptures need learning, the science of the creatures is "accessible alike to

¹ Raymond of Sabunde (Sebonde, Sabiunde), d. 1436, was a Spanish Franciscan who became Professor at Toulouse. His "Theologia naturalis" is a highly original work which hardly ever quotes directly from Scripture, Fathers or Schoolmen. He has been described as an Ockhamist, but there is a good deal of Thomist Aristotelianism and some affinities with Raymond Lull. See C. C. J. Webb, *Studies in Natural Theology* (Oxford, 1951), pp. 292 ff.; A. Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme*, pp. 485, 520, 521; I. S. Reval, *La Théologie Naturelle de Raymond Sébon* (Lisbon, 1955). Part of the work (as turned into a dialogue form) circulated as the "Viola Animae" of Petrus Dorlandus. Montaigne translated Raymond's work and gave it a new lease of fame in France.

² We have used the 1502 edition (Strasbourg) and the 1852 edition. See Tit. CCXI, "Liber creaturarum debet primo sciri, antequam homo veniat ad librum sacrae scripturae . . . et ideo liber creaturarum est porta, via, janua, introductorium et lumen quoddam ad librum sacrae scripturae". Tit. CCXII, "omnia quae probantur per librum creaturarum, sint scripta in libro scripturae".

³ Tit. CCX.

laymen and to clerks and can be had in less than a month and without trouble ”.

The imagery of two books, one of the creatures and the other of Holy Scripture, is common to the Homily and to Raymond. John Keble would have found Raymond of Sabunde and Thomas Müntzer rather exuberant travelling companions, but he would one day express the same thought :

There is a book who runs may read
Which heavenly truth imparts,
And all the lore its scholars need
Pure eyes and Christian hearts

The works of God above, below
Within us and around
Are pages in that book to show
How God himself is found

Two worlds are ours : 'tis only sin
Forbids us to descry
The mystic heaven and earth within
Plain as the sea and sky

If John Keble could light on the same imagery, why not Hans Huth? But there are other indications in the Homily, of Raymond's arguments. Of major importance in Raymond is the analogy between the obedience of the creatures to man, and of man's obedience to God. This is an important part too of the argument of the Homily, in the section concerning the “ Gospel of every creature ”, though transmuted into the theme of suffering and sacrifice (even though the argument here of both Raymond and the Homily derives ultimately from the Book of Genesis). Thus the Homily says “ that it will always hold true for man, that he is to be in relation to God as such (animal) sacrifice is in relation to man ”—“ all animals are subordinate to man : if a man needs one, he must first dress, cook and roast it . . . if God would use and enjoy us we have first to be justified by him and cleansed within and without ”. “ So men can perceive the invisible being and eternal power of God in the creatures and see how God deals with men, and prepares them for the “ end ” of their perfection . . . that is why all creatures are subject to man, that men may rule over them ”. “ So men

recognize in their own works which they exercise over and in all creatures, the will of God towards them.”¹

I do not contend that the Homily quotes Raymond, but that it seems to be the work of one who had read him, mastered and adapted his arguments. If this is so, then we must conclude I think that we have here a work of Thomas Müntzer.

I do not say that this is a demonstrative case, but that it is a strong one.² I think that the doctrine of Baptism in terms of suffering, linked with a doctrine of faith and justification which is thoroughly Müntzerian, is entirely compatible with what we know of Müntzer's teaching,³ down to and including the denunciation of infant baptism.

At the risk of prolonging what may seem to some a subjective argument, we may suggest two points when Müntzer might have passed on the manuscript. The first would be in 1524 when he gave Huth another manuscript to print. The second, more likely, would be on the eve of Frankenhausen.

There is one other consideration which may be mentioned. Conrad Grebel and his friends (signing themselves “seven young Müntzers against Luther”) wrote to Müntzer a letter and postscript in the summer of 1524. In it Grebel requested Müntzer and Karlstadt to write some further treatise on the doctrine of Baptism. Grebel said “In the matter of Baptism thy book pleases me well, and we desire to be further instructed by thee . . . if thou and Karlstadt will not write against infant baptism

¹ So also in Raymond, Tit. XCIX. “Sic ergo creaturae ligantur cum homine, quia sunt propter hominem, et exinde homo ligatur cum Deo per talem obligationem”. CXVII. “Vero duo sunt servitia: primum est servitium creaturarum ad hominem: secundum est servitium hominis ad Deum.” Tit. CXVII: “Creaturae enim serviunt homini, ut sit et duret et permaneat in esse: et ipso homo debet servire Deo, ut ei sit bene et optime”.

CCX: “Scientia creaturarum est scientia de factis et operibus Dei et illa jam dicta est. Sed nunc restat tractare de verbis Dei . . . et si est dignus liber in quo sunt verba Dei scripta.”

² Points in favour of Huth would be the use of “Verwilligung”, and the rather banal reiteration of “Darum”, “Derhalben”, “Alhie” which suggests an untutored style (or one who thought in Latin?—Etiam, Quaeamodum, etc.). I am not excluding an element of editing of such a manuscript.

³ As against H. Klassen, *MQR*. (1959). He does not appear to me to do justice to T.M.'s theology and leans too heavily on Karl Holl. He also tones down Huth's apocalyptic.

sufficiently . . . I will try my hand." From the fact that this document turned up in the St. Gall archives, where it presumably came to Vadianus on Grebel's death, Dr. Bender concludes that Müntzer never received it. And though he shies away too eagerly from the possibility of contact between Grebel and Müntzer, and misreads what Grebel says about there being no copy of the letter,¹ he is probably right. But we do know that at the same time Grebel and his friends wrote in similar terms to Karlstadt, and that Karlstadt seems in fact to have done as they requested, for in October 1524 his son-in-law Gerard Westerburg was in Basel arranging with Felix Mantz (one of the signatories of the letter) for the publication of Karlstadt's tract on Baptism, a writing which was confiscated. In these weeks Müntzer came himself to Basel and thereafter spent weeks, perhaps months, in the area of the Klettgau in south Germany. There were thus many possibilities of his having news of the Swiss Brethren and hearing that they wanted literature about Baptism. May he not have done so, and have turned one of his powerful sermons,² into an exposition of his major doctrines, his natural theology, his view of faith in relation to temptation and to justification, and his doctrine of Baptism as related to his theology of the Cross?

One thing is sure, such a Homily by Müntzer would be dangerous property after Frankenhausen. But I can imagine that a radical like Huth would regard it as too valuable to lose, that he might circulate the manuscript, use it as the basis of preaching, perhaps trimming it here and there, but not attempting to print it, not directly acknowledging it as a writing of his own. Much of this may be hypothetical, but it is surely not unreasonable. In any case, all that is contended for here is that either this writing is by Thomas Müntzer or else it is the writing of one so closely connected with him that we must label it "School of Müntzer," as we might name a picture "School of Breughel".

¹ Grebel appears to be referring to his letter to Luther, not the letter to T.M. at this point in his manuscript. I am grateful to the St. Gall archives for a photostat of the originals.

² It is a pity that his writings are in the main polemically occasioned. There is testimony that he was a fine and powerful preacher on the less eccentric themes of the Gospel.

3. *The "Gospel of Every Creature"*

After a greeting and long preamble, the main part of the Homily follows, an exposition of Mark xvi. 15, with its three parts, "the gospel of every creature", faith and baptism.

Insisting that a right understanding of God's mysteries and judgements depends on keeping his "Order", the writer stresses the importance of the "Order" of the three parts of the text: first must come the "Gospel of every creature", then faith, and then baptism, in its outward sign and in its essence, which is "to follow in the footsteps of Christ in the school of all tribulation". The section begins with the insistence that:

By the gospel of Every Creature nothing less is displayed than Christ and He alone crucified, but not simply Christ as Head, but the whole Christ with all His members . . . the whole Christ must suffer in all His members and not as our scribes teach . . . that Christ the head has borne everything and accomplished all.¹

But by this "Gospel of every creature" you are not to understand²

that the Gospel is to be preached to all creatures, to dogs and cats, cows and calves, leaves and grass, but as Paul says, the gospel which is preached to you, "in all creatures".³

But this gospel is hidden from the carnal preachers and is now almost unknown. But this is how Christ Himself preached.

He always showed the common man the Kingdom of heaven and the power of the Father by means of a parable, by means of the works of the hands of man, in all those daily works with which men are occupied.

Unlike the senseless scribes, He did not direct men to books, but He showed them the gospel in their work, the peasant through his field, seed, thistle, thorns, and rocks. "As the countryman treats

¹ This is a recurring theme in Thomas Müntzer. See references in his writings, in Brandt, pp. 130, 131. "Wenn man sagt, Christus hats alleine alles ausgerichtet, ist viel, viel zu kurz. Wenn du das Haupt mit den Gliedern nicht fassdest, wie konntest du dann seinen Fusstapfen nachfolgen"? (ibid. pp. 139, 186): "Ich setze Christum mit allen seinen Gliedern zum Erfüller des Gesetzes" (191). See also the important letter to C. Meinhard, Böhmer-Kirm, no. 47, p. 52 (11 December 1523).

² The statement that the "Order" (Ordnung) must be put together with all its parts, recalls T.M.'s doctrine of the Whole in relation to the parts.

³ The immediate appeal to Col. i. 23 is to be noted. A citation of Rom. i follows.

his field before he sows seed in it, so does God with us before He gives us His word, that it may grow and bear fruit."

So it is in the Bible.¹ "He teaches the gardener from his trees, the fisherman from his catch, the carpenter by means of his house, the goldsmith by the testing of gold, the wives from their dough, the vinedresser from the vineyard, vine and shoots, the tailor from the patch on an old cloth, the merchant from his pearls, the reaper and the harvest, the woodcutter and the axe laid to the tree, the shepherd and his sheep, the potter and his pottery, the stewards and bailiffs with their accounts, the woman with her child-bearing, the thresher with his chaff, the butcher with his slaughtering. Paul, too, illustrates the Kingdom of God in terms of the human body. So Christ always preached the Kingdom of God by the creatures and in parables."

This is an astonishing and surely highly original appeal to the teaching of Jesus, something even more radical than the Erasmian "philosophy of Christ". It seems almost startlingly nineteenth century in its appeal to the Jesus of History, though its realism is more that of Breughel and Bosch than of Rossetti and Holman Hunt, and the argument turns at once in a medieval way from parable to allegory. These parables and analogies are to teach men that :

all creatures have to suffer at the hand of men, and so come through pain to that end for which they were created, and . . . no man can come to be saved other than by suffering and through tribulation . . . so the whole of Scripture and the creatures teach nothing else but—the suffering Christ in all His members.

The next section shows how the ceremonial and sacrificial law of Moses agrees with the natural law of the heathen. Thus the laws of Moses are not to be understood literally (Rede) but in terms of spiritual meaning (Kraft). Thus God commands the Jews to avoid eating unclean animals, that Christian men may learn to avoid the company of the ungodly. Again the analogy between the creatures, and God, is used :

All animals are subordinate to man : if a man needs one for himself he must first prepare, cook and roast it and the animal has to suffer according to his will. If God would use us, we have first to be justified by Him and cleansed within and without, inwardly from desire and lust and outwardly from all improper behaviour and misuse of the creatures.

¹ Numerous citations are given.

Again the author turns to allegory. "The carpenter does not build houses from whole trees, but first cuts them down and then fashions them according to his will, and makes a house out of them. We should learn from this how God treats us, as a man builds his house, before he dwells in it, which house (Paul says) we are." Again, as "on a tree a branch sticks out, now in one direction, now in another, so it is with the desires of men, one branch stretches out towards possessions, another towards wife and children, a third towards money, a fourth towards fields and meadows, to temporal pomp, to luxury and honour".

So every work which we accomplish with the creatures should be as the Scriptures to us, which we diligently mark. For the whole world with all the creatures is a book in which a man may see in the work, all those things which are read in the written book. For all the elect from the beginning of the world to Moses have studied in this book of all creatures, and have understood it by their reason, as it is written by nature through the spirit of God written in the heart, for the whole law is described in terms of creaturely works.

Similarly the heathen also are concerned with the creatures. The law commands that animals be killed before being eaten : thus do the heathen also : the law commands that lamp trimmers be put with the lamps : this is the heathen practice !

And so the law is described and shown forth in all the creatures and we read it daily in our work. In this book we are occupied daily, and the whole world is full, yes, full of the will of God so illustrated, of which our own hearts bear witness if we keep them from the coarsening of worldly lusts, and so men can understand the invisible being and eternal power of God in the works of the creatures, and see how God deals with men and prepares them for the end of their perfection, and this can only take place under the cross of suffering, according to his will.

Not only is this direct appeal to the preaching of Jesus and to the manner in which His parables spoke to the condition of the common man highly original and perceptive, but it had obvious immediate polemical value for the radicals. The appeal to books, and chief among them the Bible, by the Scribes was utterly different from the methods of the Lord, who, it is plausibly argued, only used the appeal to Scripture itself when confuting the Scribes on their own ground. This "Gospel of all creatures" could by-pass the Church machine, not only of Rome, but of Wittenberg, for here was a simple gospel which was not bound to the preaching and scholarship of the Lutheran preachers.

Thus this "Gospel of All Creatures" as expounded in the Homily corresponds exactly to the complaint of Urbanus Rhegius in 1525 that two years previously Thomas Müntzer had sought to discredit the Bible by saying that he would teach the common man directly from the study of natural things.

The later sections of the Homily are not our main concern, but there is one section which was also part of the radical polemic, the retort (first made by Karlstadt ?) to the Lutheran insistence on abiding in one's vocation, a doctrine which hit hard at the itinerancy of the Anabaptists.

And so nowadays . . . everybody says "Each man must abide in his calling". If that is so, why did not Peter remain a fisherman, Matthew a publican, why did Christ tell the rich young ruler to sell all and give to the poor? If it is right for our preachers to possess so much, then the rich young ruler was right, too, to keep his possessions. O Zachaeus, why did you give up your property so easily—according to your preachers you would have done better to stick to it, and still have been a good Christian. Oho, comrades, how do you like that?—can't you smell arrant knavery here?

That the "Gospel of All Creatures" was taught by Huth himself is to be admitted. There are, we have already suggested, clear traces of such teaching among the examinations of his disciples.¹ It is explicitly set forth in his "Ein christlicher Unterricht, wie gottliche geschrift vergleicht und geurteilt solle werden".² But this document seems far less reminiscent of Müntzer, and what Huth has to say about it here seems not more original than what is said by other members of this circle. Leonard Schiemer's³ exposition of the Creed uses the analogy of the suffering creatures, "the means whereby all creatures come to the use of man, that is suffering, and the creature holds itself passive before man and suffers for faiths sake". The ex-priest Hans Schlaffer⁴ recurs to this theme as of major importance. In his "Kurzer Unterricht zum Anfang eines recht christlichen Lebens" he speaks of three witnesses, of the creature, the

¹ See above, p. 498. Also *QGT. Bayern II*, Schornbaum, Doc. 16, also p. 56.

² L. Müller, *Glaubenszeugnisse*, pp. 28 ff.

³ Schiemer was an ex-Franciscan who was converted by Huth's teaching. He was beheaded and burned at Rottenburg on the Inn. January 1528.

⁴ L. Müller, *ibid.* pp. 84 ff. Schlaffer had been a priest in Austria and joined Huth's party at Nicolsburg in 1527. He was executed by the sword at Schwaz, in 1528.

Scriptures, and Christ. His first witness, the creature is described in language which shows knowledge of the text of our Homily, and he cites the text "aller creatur". Schlaffer sometimes quotes the examples from the Homily, sometimes extends them "as a hen, a fish, or some other beast" has to be "plucked, washed, cleaned and so to suffer, so it is with men and God when he prepares us for justification". He gives a further exposition of the gospel of all creatures in his "Kurzer bericht und leer eines recht christlichen lebens"¹ and again in his "Bekendniss und verantwortung".² But Schlaffer adds no new ideas, and applies the analogy, creatures—man, man—God in a rather wooden way, which contrasts with the liveliness of our Homily. Much more original and striking is the writing of Jörg Haug von Jüchsen, "Ein Christliche Ordnung eines wahrhaftigen Christen zu verantworten die Ankunft seines Glaubens" (1524?).³ He was elected preacher at Bibra by the peasants and asked Huth to preach to them in the days following the battle of Frankenhausen, 1525. His teaching probably stands in a more direct relation to Müntzer than Schiemer and Schlaffer whose chief debt was to Huth, and he expounds in this tract of doctrine of the seven spirits of wisdom which we know to have been one of Müntzer's doctrines. Jörg Haug sees the timidity of wild beasts and the violence of beasts of prey as examples of the fear of the Lord, and he expounds the original order of creation, Adam's dominion over the creatures, and the results of the fall in a way which must be very like the teaching which Müntzer himself gave. It is to be noted that there is a fairly high theological content to this tract of Haug, who speaks of man's goal of perfection, and of the highest good, and uses the Taulerian vocabular about suffering, and about conformity with Christ. The study of these writings raises interesting questions. Is there behind all this the teaching of one man, Thomas Müntzer? We have real evidence that this might be so, and that during his ministries at Allstedt and Mühlhausen he may well have given some fairly coherent theological teaching not expounded in his polemically occasioned writings but given from the pulpit of which he was a master. Or is it not so simple? Are we to think more in terms of ideas gained through books—of

¹ Müller, p. 94.² Ibid. p. 110.³ Ibid. p. 2; M.E. 3, p. 679.

little groups of radically minded laymen discussing what had been gleaned from Tauler's sermons and from Müntzer and Karlstadt? Are we to think that in the years, perhaps months preceding the emergence of the Anabaptists that there were groups of radicals, much as in Switzerland the "spiritualists" 'preceded the formation of the Swiss Brethren'. At any rate there is evident in these writings a fairly coherent pattern of theology, with its evident debt to the modern devotion as conflated in Germany with Taulerian mysticism, so that one has to reckon with epigrams of the learned which have become, or are becoming, the evangelical clichés, the jargon of the unlearned. One can only list the intriguing possibilities.

The "Gospel of all creatures" persisted for some time among Anabaptist circles, certainly long enough to intrigue Pilgrim Marbeck. But there were perhaps reasons why it should prove of only transitory importance. Obviously it had an immediate polemical value in its contradiction of the Scribes of Wittenberg, Zürich and Strasbourg, with their appeal through the Bible and the Preaching of the Word, to a learned, teaching Church. But its startling simple gospel, which claimed to speak directly to the simple people, was not really the method of Jesus of Nazareth. We need not blame them because they could not create parables comparable with those of their sublime Master: or that they did not perceive the difference between a parable and an allegory. But they did in fact fall into an allegorizing which was thoroughly medieval, and the superficiality with which one analogy is spiritualized time after time recalls the "Emblems" of the English Puritans. More important, by making the "Gospel of all creatures" a preliminary to real faith, a teaching which men were encouraged to draw for themselves from their own vocation and the natural world, they came very near to re-erecting the very "False faith" against which they were protesting, a mental and theological technique (the Homily seems uneasy at some points about this—when it asks readers not to despise such "written judgements").

One thing might have extended its survival value: the immense stress of our Homily on suffering, only too relevant to the condition of a martyr church. When Felix Mantz's execution

order was read out in Zurich with its sentence of drowning—he cried out “ Ah, that is real Baptism ”, and one ponders the folly of the Swiss Protestant authorities for a form of punishment which must recall the “ red baptism ” of the early Church. But the teaching of the Homily is of a pre-martyrdom vintage, and we may conclude that on the whole the teaching of this Homily stood too near to the world of late medieval mysticism and devotion to have enduring value for a movement which despite many real links with the past was so swift to develop its own authentic ethos, its own disciplinary frame, its own picture of Primitive Christianity.

RUSKIN'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH HIS GOD-DAUGHTER CONSTANCE OLDHAM¹

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ON those gloomy occasions, when John Ruskin went with his parents to Mr. Burnet's Chapel in Denmark Hill, he invariably sat in the pew behind the Oldfield family, for whom, as the years passed, he developed a real affection. To the Hill residents the two families were amongst the most prosperous in the district, and each had a son devoted to art. Ruskin respected Edmund Oldfield and was well pleased when the parishioners of St. Giles Church, Camberwell, issued a joint invitation to Oldfield and himself to design a window for the east end of the church. The partnership did not last long, for Ruskin quickly recognized Oldfield's superior knowledge of Gothic style and withdrew from the project, but he later paid tribute in *Praeterita* to the pure and brilliant colour of the window ultimately designed. His friendship with Edmund Oldfield's sister, Anna, developed some years after her marriage to Dr. James Oldham, when he consented to become god-father to her youngest daughter, Constance. One hundred and twenty-four of the letters which Ruskin sent to his god-daughter have been acquired by the John Rylands Library, as well as sixteen of the letters which he sent to her mother. These letters show that Ruskin derived considerable satisfaction from the rôle of god-parent and was grateful for the opportunity it gave him of close contact with the warm-hearted, happy Oldham family.

It was Mrs. Oldham who fostered the friendship in its early stage ; two of Ruskin's letters suggest that there had been a lapse of time and interest in their correspondence. In 1860, he wrote

¹ Grateful acknowledgement is made to the Ruskin Trustees and to their publisher, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., for permission to include extracts from various unpublished letters quoted in this article.

to apologize for a long delay in his reply to her letter and to agree that he too would like to renew the acquaintance some day. In 1864, some months after the death of his father, he wrote to decline an invitation to visit the Oldham's new home in Haywards Heath, and to explain the restricted nature of his life with its increasing burden of work in an age which he chose to describe as "sorrowful and accursed". He commented on the tranquil pleasures enjoyed by his widowed mother and made joking reference to his attempt to provide an antidote for her appetite for good books. He named Winnington Hall¹ as one of the few places he permitted himself to visit, and expressed the hope that Constance would be a happy pupil there. It would appear that Ruskin had advised Mrs. Oldham to send her daughter to Winnington Hall, that fashionable girls' school in Northwich, Cheshire, where, since 1859, he had spent many happy and care-free hours. He was more than a casual visitor to this school and special quarters were set aside for him. He was eager to help and advise Miss Bell, the head mistress, on the teaching of art and other matters related to the school. His lectures were greatly enjoyed by the children. *Ethics of the Dust* may be described as his teaching manual there. The way of life at Winnington intrigued him: the school-room jokes, the romps, the laughter—most of all the adulation of the girls helped in a measure to atone for the loneliness of his childhood. He was sufficiently relaxed to be able to write there parts of *The Elements of Perspective*; the children were proud and delighted to be permitted to make the index for Volume V of *Modern Painters*. Winnington was his tranquillizer, but it is possible that the world, by contrast, seemed harsher when he left this friendly retreat, although he knew that he carried with him the goodwill and affection of most of its inhabitants. His parents did not easily accept this chosen outlet. His mother must have voiced her protest, for amongst Ruskin's letters to Constance Oldham is a fragment cut out from a letter to Mrs. Ruskin which carries this message: "I would if my health would let me sit—as contentedly

¹ Professor Van Akin Burd of the State University of New York (State Teachers' College, Cortland, New York) is shortly to publish a book on Ruskin's association with Winnington Hall.

in my study at work all day—if I *could* work—but I can't—and it is better for me to have Egypt and Dora to play with than to walk up and down beside our cows in the field.”¹

Ruskin, although forty years old in 1859 when he first found solace at Winnington Hall, was still a boy to his parents—at times a wayward boy for whom excuses had to be made to the outside world. Perhaps the best picture of Ruskin as seen through his father's eyes at this time is given in the following extract from a letter to the Editor of *The Witness* sent in order secretly to suppress an article written by his forty-year-old son :

My Son has fancies & is a thinker but from being home bred & coming little among men after College years—he is too confident & positive & has got some strange notions from strange people the best & highest of whom are Carlyle, Browning, Tennyson & Maurice—but after them some atrocious Radicals & Louis Blanc people & scampish artists & working Men who flatter & borrow money. He is right in many things & wrong in many.²

It may be assumed that Ruskin's frequent flights to Winnington were disapproved of by his parents.

Naturally, after Constance became a pupil at Winnington Hall Ruskin was able to meet her more often, and in the summer of 1868 she won a promise from him to visit the family in Haywards Heath sometime during the holidays. Letters to Mrs. Oldham indicate that he spent the night of 31 July with them and returned to London with Constance on the following day. As a special treat—one carefully arranged by Ruskin—she was allowed to spend the night at Denmark Hill before he saw her on her Winnington way, a day late for the new term. In his letter to her mother reporting their safe arrival in London, Ruskin described their enjoyment of an hour's saunter through the National Gallery and his own enjoyment of her daughter's beautiful rendering in the evening of some piano studies. As he wrote this letter, in the early hours of a Sunday morning while his young guest was still asleep, his thoughts turned to his visit, to the domestic happiness he had witnessed there and he added : “ I have much to thank you for in the love and kindness you—*all*—gave me yesterday—you yourself chiefly and it is very beautiful to

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1248 (n.d.).

² Rylands Eng. MS. 1245 (24.6.59).

see a family living in such love."¹ But in some way he could not accept their attitude towards their own happiness, and he felt that he knew Mrs. Oldham well enough to advise her to live less "in love" and more "in truth". He made no attempt to define truth, but stated simply that the wider truth incorporated an unpleasing as well as a pleasing truth. He clearly felt that the family lived too much for itself; he interpreted God's commandment that a man must love his neighbour as himself, as a command to love his neighbour's family as his own and he further explained: "that is to say—essentially to use our domestic love and indulge it (—for living or dead—) only so far as it increases our happiness and usefulness—and at once to thwart and crush it—so far as it afflicts either."² Some days later he renewed his comment on domestic love and stated his belief that love, or the power to love, was a God-given trust that should not be abused by being carelessly placed; that the affections should be bestowed according to worth or need and not, in the first instance, for pleasure. The misery that came with his own marriage twenty years previously is impregnated in his description of the penalty of affection wrongly bestowed: "it is appointed that by such a careless placing of them we shall lay up for ourselves the bitterest suffering of which humanity is capable—and even by innocent and natural—but unresolved, dwelling in them, make our faces wan before the night cometh."³ Some years later, when he had loved and lost in madness and death Rose La Touche, he made modified comment to Blanche Atkinson on his marriage to Effie Gray describing it as a "sorrowful and hateful passage of life" that caused him no permanent mischief and added: "No man of real worth can love what is unworthy, enough to be ruined, or even permanently hurt by discovering that it is so."⁴ He later changed his view that the Oldham family was selfish in their love for each other and wrote in 1870 to Mrs. Oldham to express the hope that they would long remain in their untroubled circle and to retract the charge of selfishness that he had laid against them. There can be little doubt that the happiness of the Oldhams intensified his feelings of solitude, and while he was glad to share the family

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1247 (2.8.68). ² *Ibid.* (2.8.68).

³ *Ibid.* (13.8.68).

⁴ Rylands Eng. MS. 1162/36 (n.d.).

affection, their unity reflected his misery. He tried to make Mrs. Oldham realize the magnitude of the gulf that separated them: "You live in another world—and I can neither help you nor be helped by you."¹ In the same letter he went on to explain that advancing years brought him only advancing miseries. Fortunately Mrs. Oldham and her family refused to accept the differences as unbridgeable and they continued to bestow affection on him and to try to make him feel one of the family.

No clear picture of Constance, the schoolgirl, emerges from Ruskin's few extant letters written to her while she was at Winnington Hall. She has been identified as the nine-year-old May in *Ethics of the Dust* where she is portrayed in a quiet, modest light as an earnest, somewhat self-effacing, attentive pupil who thirsted for knowledge and asked intelligent questions. Although, to judge from her minor rôle in the book, she was not one of the favourite pupils, Ruskin enjoyed defeating her in argument and making her mind move along fresh tracks of thought. It may be that she learned there something of his flirtatious tendencies, registered the degree of excitement his presence caused in certain circles, and made, as her subsequent advice to Kathleen Olander shows, careful note of his susceptibility and charm. Only three of the letters in this collection at the Rylands Library were written to her while she was a schoolgirl at Winnington, and of those one carries the significant salutation: "Dearest love to Isabel, & Lily and Netta and love to you all."² When later in 1875, after misfortune had overtaken the school and the unhappy Miss Bell was faced with acute financial problems, Constance expressed her regret at these unfortunate events in a letter to him, but Ruskin wearily dismissed the matter: "Yes Winnington is very sad—but I have known many other sad things, lately, Connie, and have to think about them as little as I can and do the best I can—or I should soon do nothing. It is very sweet of you to remember me so lovingly."³ Winnington pleasures could come now only from favourite former pupils there, but she did not represent Winnington to him and they drew little on this experience in the letters that passed between them.

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1247 (5.9.70).

² Rylands Eng. MS. 1248 (8.11.66).

³ Ibid. (23.2.75).

A favourite subject in their correspondence was news of the family : Ruskin was delighted to receive messages from her mother, brothers and sister ; he was flattered when her father found time in his busy life as medical practitioner to send him a greeting. This family affection meant much to him ; he wanted to share her anxiety when her relatives were ill, her pleasures at any domestic triumph or celebration, and when she complained of a feeling of loneliness at home he wrote from Venice on a bleak morning in November 1876 to remind her of her blessings :

It is very sad to me your being left so alone ; but while you have father and mother—you don't really know what loneliness means. I thought I did ;—lamented the absence of persons who I thought were more to me than father or mother—and complained of—and felt, sharply enough, both want of sympathy & practical opposition.

But, if now I could call—and be answered by the voice I desired—it would be my Father's. There is of course—a certain deception in the longing—as there was in the presence ; nevertheless, so long as you have parents, you do not really know what it is to be alone.¹

It would appear from the letters that at times Ruskin felt able to express to her the bitter feelings of regret that occasionally shadowed his memory of his parents, especially his father. Early in December 1876, when his health was deteriorating, he gave her some indication of the intensity of his feelings on the subject when, in answer to her questions, he described the work of the Greek Furies, the spirits of mental pain : “ they are kindly, because only through such pain does true repentance become possible—I am under their chastisement more and more every year for my conduct to my parents—and perceive them to be kind in this, softening me, not destroying.”² The following year, in September, he wrote from Brantwood to answer Constance's questions on the work of his Guild, and he explained that for her it meant the performance of the simple domestic duties of home ; he added that if she received no payment for such work her father would provide for her, just as his own poor, dead father provided for him. He was thankful, as he told her, for her happiness in her unbroken family circle and for all that was good and sweet in her life.

The Oldhams were deeply concerned for his welfare and all equally anxious to please and cheer him. In the summer of 1871,

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1248 (10.11.76).

² *Ibid.* (7.12.76).

Constance's brother, Langston, gave him a puppy from the litter of his pet St. Bernard, Juno. If the gift had been made a few months later, after his purchase of Brantwood, doubtless Ruskin would have kept the puppy which he was obliged to entrust to a happy Oxford family. Nevertheless the gift pleased him for he had a genuine affection for animals, especially dogs. A fascinating study could be made from Ruskin's works of his interest in the dog as portrayed by artist and writer down the ages. This interest is also reflected, to a certain extent, in some of the letters written to Constance in his later years when illness and domestic difficulty gave him more time to attend to his correspondence, and when her friendship was more than ever necessary to him. He encouraged her to make a study of animal behaviour and greatly pleased her in 1886 when he informed her that he now kept all her letters carefully in the hope that they might make "a lovely little book" one day. Two years later he wrote to assure her that with the exception of Dr. John Brown she excelled all other writers on animals.

Constance Oldham was as much a child of the countryside as he, and she developed from early days the habit of writing to him about new scenes and places visited. On holiday in the Yorkshire Dales she gave him her impressions of the peaceful beauty of the country, and in his appreciative reply he assured her that he knew of no other place in the world to equal for quiet good the Yorkshire vales, moors and waters. He commented on her letter when writing in melancholy strain to Mrs. Oldham in September 1870: "Constance wrote me a beautiful letter about Yorkshire, which carried me back to days of real happiness—may you all remain—in your untroubled circle—untroubled except by Grief of Heaven's sending."¹ He was particularly pleased that Constance was experiencing the beauty of English scenery before travelling overseas. When, after illness in 1882, she decided to go abroad with her brother, Ruskin gave careful advice in answer to her own detailed questioning:

I am greatly delighted by your Swiss plannings—and by Lang's concurrence in my line of approach—I think the Rhine at Lauffenbourg is one of the great scenes in Europe—and as a preface to all the might of the mountains is majestic and

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1247 (5.9.70).

interpreting—beyond all others. If seen after you have got accustomed to the rage of summer torrents, its solemn strength of wave becomes comparatively uninteresting—but *it* first—then Schaffhausen—and then the quiet lakes and dewy falls—are all in their best succession.

—Mind you go down on the rocks at Lauffenbourg—and—Mind you don't slip off them! ¹

If Ruskin's advice to his many friends on travel abroad were collected and put into guidebook form it would prove invaluable to the inexperienced traveller. He advised Constance about the best line of approach to the Splügen, the best time of year to get a first sight of Mont Blanc, the most interesting drive to take from Geneva, and the finest view in the world at Sallenches.

She wrote to him from these places of his recommendation and occasionally sent him souvenirs, but she knew from earliest years the kind of gift that best pleased him; in February 1875, he paused in a letter of complaint about his health and the sadness of his life to note: "Here's the fern just come—How pretty! and so perfectly packed—and not a leaf broken. Thank you, Connie." ² After his many grave attacks of illness she was hesitant about sending flowers to cheer him, and in May 1882 she sought his opinion and learned that single flowers, or little bunches of roses on the one stem, or one or two carnations, or a few pinks were acceptable, but he confessed his preference for home-grown lilac and laburnum and added: "I get quantities of flowers sent by way of compliment—or sentiment—but they're always thrown at Joan's head—and if she likes to pick them up—well and good—(When Joan's head's not here the flowers go out of the window)." ³ Constance's profound interest in botany probably arose from Ruskin's own enthusiasm. Certainly it was he who set her to work on mosses and asked her to make a special study of the question of their growth. She followed his advice, submitted her findings on the subject to him some four years later in 1883, and was delighted to learn that he considered her work interesting and original. Later in the year she wrote excitedly to tell him that the Editor of the *Friendly Work Series* ⁴

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1248 (n.d.).

² Ibid. (23.2.75).

³ Ibid. (n.d.). Joan is, of course, his cousin Mrs. Severn.

⁴ A periodical published under the sanction of the Central Council of the Girls' Friendly Society from 1883 to 1894.

had accepted her article on mosses for publication. She became a regular contributor to this periodical, and invariably sought Ruskin's approval of her manuscripts before finally dispatching them to the Editor. In a sense he attempted to direct her work in this sphere and wrote of the moss that grew on his moorland in the Lake District : " I'm quite content to have my staghorn somebody else—but I want to know how it grows & blows and runs and roots." ¹ He was proud of her work and wrote : " I return the 11 mosses with true thanks & satisfaction in them. Nobody had ever explained the moss structure before, and the root part is extremely pretty and quite new to me, about its being prolific." ² From the publication of papers on mosses she turned to seaweed, and of course to Ruskin for help. He wrote in reply from Folkestone, where, ill and separated for a time from the Severns, he lived in such discomfort that he sent his new servant Edwin, whom he described as " horsey, boozy, boaty—a little billiardry " to try to find quiet lodgings for him at Sandgate :

I will get you every seaweed here—by fisher-boys hands, my old feet slip dangerously now—and I had a frightful humiliation one day in showing my knowledge of the exact wave which needed retreat, by catching my retreating heel in tangle worked up by the gale of last tide, and coming all my length on the shingle. Shingle never hurts or harms in the least by its hardness—but the mere going unexpectedly all my length was mentally & spinally bad for me. ³

As might be expected Constance gave loyal support to the Guild of St. George from its early days and serious attention to the monthly issues of *Fors Clavigera*. Ruskin was glad of her loyalty, interested to learn from her of prospective members of the Guild, and pleased when her letters afforded the opportunity of publishing extracts from them in *Fors*. He was able to quote passages on the harsh conditions of work of the Valenciennes lace-maker and on the slum child's ignorance of the countryside. At times he was afraid that she might subscribe lavishly to the Guild and he reminded her of the value of thrift ; he realized her eagerness to help him in a practical way and advocated instead the drawing up of a list of practical precepts from *Fors* and the

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1248 (n.d.).

² *Ibid.* (6.1.85).

³ *Ibid.* (10.10.87).

New Testament. He did not encourage her to raise theological discussions in her letters, nevertheless he was ready to defend his statements made in *Fors* on several controversial religious issues. Constance, whose two brothers were to enter the Church—Langston to become eventually an Archdeacon—could not accept his view that the clergyman was wont to dine with the rich and pray with the poor; nor could she support his contention that the young clergyman's urge to help to alleviate the visible misery of the poor frequently resulted in spiritual neglect of the rich. He admitted that good work was done by good clergymen among the sick and dying, and confessed that he himself could not undertake such a task because of his horror of death. He explained that at times he was haunted by a remembered image of some witnessed aspect of death; he acknowledged this weakness but was emphatic that those able to undertake such work among the sick and dying lacked his sensitivity and so acted from a lack of sympathy. Characteristically, in February 1881, when Ruskin learned of the recovery from serious illness of one of Constance's relatives, he wrote to express his joy and added that he was unable to send her any word of help while the crisis lasted, because in the presence of such grave illness he invariably found himself without hope or strength.

Like many other readers of *Fors*, Constance interpreted his contention that steam power should be employed only in extreme necessity as a condemnation of the use of steam, and she wrote to remind him of its value to the fire brigade and received this patient reply: "Please note I have never said a word against steam for certain services. It ought to have carried us to the Poles by this time and warmed half the Arctic Ocean—and pumped the Red Sea into Arabia—of course it's right at Fires."¹ Harder to forgive was her failure to understand that manual labour productive of food, fuel, lodgings or clothes was a first principle of *Fors*. It is interesting to note that at least on one occasion Ruskin departed from this principle and showed preference for machine-made goods, as the following letter to Mrs. Oldham indicates:

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1248 (8.7.84).

The lovely socks are far more lovely than I ever thought of their being—but here again Anna dear,—there is a tiny disappointment for both of us. After trying them carefully yesterday I found that for several reasons my common smooth worsted manufacture socks were—what I had been used to and that no knitted ones could be as comfortable—I brutally bring this horrid fact out in its bluntness.¹

He had less time to deal with queries in the eighteen-seventies when the burden of Guild work was at its heaviest and *Fors* correspondence proved exhausting. Likening Constance to a happy grasshopper who expected him, a hard-driven donkey, to enjoy spring glories, he made this vivid comment on his plight in a letter written in May 1875 :

You cannot fancy how people beat me, nor what a heavy cart I have to drag, nor how impossible it is to get out of the shafts—and that is chiefly because so many people want to be good to me, and then gradually get dependent on me—and ride in the cart for the sake of being near me.²

Doubtless as he wrote this vivid passage Ruskin was thinking of the ever-increasing burden of correspondence that followed each monthly issue of *Fors Clavigera*, and of those members of his Guild of St. George who joined the Guild for his sake instead of for the principles associated with it. The personal tone of his *Fors* letters served as an invitation to the lonely, the unhappy or frustrated to write to him. The correspondence section of *Fors* which he set up shows the care given to all letters received and he complained to Constance of the importunate strangers who wearied him with their letters seeking immediate advice on domestic and educational problems. Apart from the unknown members of the public who wrote to him and sought and received advice, some of his most faithful Companions of the Guild leant too heavily on him. It will be recollected that Mrs. Talbot, his patron, gave generous sums of money to enable his work to be carried out, but she too had demands to make of him : she wanted advice on her artist son's ability and career, she wanted to know Ruskin's friends and to help those about whom he was worried ; and, when all else failed, she wanted to attend his Oxford lectures on art, but she was quelled by his horrified protest. Similarly Blanche Atkinson, who was ready

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1247 (2.6.88).

² Rylands Eng. M.S. 1248 (22.5.75).

to bring all her energy and strength to any work that Ruskin suggested, felt insecure unless she heard regularly from him. Happiness for her lay in service to him, frustration came when she felt that he had no real need of her help, and to hold his interest she plied him with earnest questions, which as long as he had strength, he did his best to answer. Many loved him and longed to serve, but few had the wisdom of Constance Oldham and her family who asked nothing of him except the opportunity to help and cheer him when necessary. And when Constance's letters arrived at times when work and ill-health oppressed him, he wrote briefly, as was his custom, to explain his difficulty, but in those replies he showed none of the impatience or anger that at times surged through his letters to Blanche Atkinson or Mrs. Talbot in answer to ill-timed questions. He welcomed Constance's letters and was fond of her. He had a sympathetic understanding of her nature, and a respect for her intellectual ability. He liked, for example, the kind of questions she asked about Scott—even if he had not time to answer them—and praised her drawing, was indulgent of her weakness in painting in background, and was surprised and delighted at her understanding and appreciation of one or two sketches he gave her in exchange for her drawing of Coniston Lake. The fact that she set store on his sketches for their artistic value, as distinct from the sentimental value other young ladies were wont to attach to them, refreshed him. Perhaps she most surprised him when she expressed her enjoyment of the theatre. Ruskin, who told Mrs. Talbot—but not Constance—of his liking for pantomime, and plays, confessed that his god-daughter's news both electrified and edified him.

Constance, like Blanche Atkinson and many other young ladies, enjoyed helping Ruskin by copying out passages from books, or, more satisfying still, setting in order and copying out passages from his own lecture notes. It is clear from the correspondence that Ruskin found Constance's work in this sphere useful and on one occasion he assured her that none could excel her for neat, accurate copying. In 1883 he wrote to tell her that it was easier for him to work from her handwriting than his own. It may have been the knowledge that

she could help him in this way that caused her to purchase a small printing press. Ruskin was delighted and assured her that she quarter-reconciled him to Caxton. She printed for him passages from Evelyn, from his Oxford lectures, and from the various parts of *The Roadside Songs of Tuscany*, as he prepared them for the press for Francesca Alexander. This work meant so much to Constance that after an illness in 1887 she even contemplated cancelling plans to convalesce in Switzerland in order that she could keep up with his printing demands, but he refused to permit such sacrifice. On her return she resumed the printing work on which he now relied so heavily. When he was justifiably afraid that his health would not permit him to see the second volume of *Christ's Folk in the Apennines* through the press, he wrote to Constance to ask her to undertake this task for him. She gave similar help with *Praeterita*. At first when he told her of his intention to begin the writing of his autobiography on New Year's Day 1885, she was perturbed lest he should divulge any of her confidences, but he quickly reassured her and added :

the biography is intended merely to give account of some of my own feelings and ways of work, never yet told in my books, and to leave what MSS. I have never published, in explained arrangement, with reference to their different dates and purposes.¹

He felt the need to tell the public more about himself in order to be rightly understood. It is not clear from the correspondence how much of *Praeterita* was printed by Constance in the first instance ; a letter from Beauvais in the summer of 1888 shows clearly that she printed the first part of the chapter entitled " Mont Velan ", and that Ruskin, shattered by recurring bouts of savage mental illness, proposed to send her the completed chapter and all other written work for her approval, no less than for her printing services. Doubtless she drew greater satisfaction from this work than from any other task she performed for him.

In *Fors*, Letter XXXII, when continuing the life story of Sir Walter Scott, Ruskin named the three main divisions of a

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1248 (14.12.84).

man's life : the days of youth, the days of fruitful and healthy labour, and then the time of death. He held the view that 18 December 1825 marked the beginning of Scott's death for it was on that day that Scott recorded in his diary that he was broken in the pitch of his pride. It may be that Ruskin would have dated the beginning of his own death from 26 May 1875, the day Rose La Touche died, but he made every effort to continue with his normal work and managed to struggle on until March 1878, when the Victorian world was shaken to learn of the gravity of his illness. The Oldhams, who had been expecting Ruskin to spend a few days with them, received news of his condition from Mrs. Severn. In her reply Mrs. Oldham assured Mrs. Severn that she prayed perpetually for Ruskin, or, as she called him, her friend and brother ; while Constance confided to Mrs. Severn that she found comfort in his last Oxford lecture and his last *Fors* letter wherein he pressed the efficacy of prayer and she added : " My heart and thoughts and prayers are with you and my dear, dear Godfather all day."¹ The fact that Constance was a doctor's daughter and that one of her brothers had lately had a somewhat similar illness probably account for her specific queries to Mrs. Severn about the nature and progress of Ruskin's illness.

The Oldham's devotion to Ruskin gave him comfort and in some cases—especially when estranged from the Severns—sustenance in the many grievous illnesses that lay ahead. It would appear from the following extract from a letter written by Ruskin to Constance in January 1881 that she attempted to foster the friendship between Ruskin and her father's distinguished medical friend and colleague, Sir William Gull :

I find it—as I always have found, rather a difficult thing to present a book gracefully when somebody else has paid for it—and the book being my own doesn't make the affair simpler! This is the seventh or—tenth time perhaps that I've set myself to the Composition of the envoi—and, resolving to do it *this* time, I find I haven't Dr. Gull's name and after letters clear—will you just tell me these as you wish them written, and the book shall come to you by the post of the 15th and be safe with you on Monday morning.²

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1263 (n.d.).

² Rylands Eng. MS. 1248. (13.1.81).

It may be that it was Constance who advised Ruskin when he was alone in London in the spring of 1882 to consult Sir William Gull, certainly she wrote to thank Sir William for his services and received this reply dated 14 April :

I cannot let your very kind letter pass without a word of thanks—I need not tell you it has been no small pleasure to me to be able to serve Mr. Ruskin and I am sure that his satisfactory recovery will be a cause of thankfulness to all.

We may confidently expect many years of usefulness for him.¹

In June 1883 when Ruskin visited London he wrote to Constance to acknowledge a message she had sent from Sir William and to ask her to arrange another consultation for him. Three years later he paid his own amusing tribute to Sir William by naming a pet sea-gull after him. It may be that Ruskin's many biographers have paid insufficient attention to his resilience and courage on recovery from grave bouts of illness between 1878 and 1888. Consideration of works published between these years—apart from the hundreds of unlisted, unpublished letters—give stirring evidence of his courage, tenacity and achievement.

Constance, who had experienced serious illness herself, showed great wisdom in the letters she wrote to him when he was convalescent. She encouraged him to look to the future instead of dwelling on the past. She expected to win his approval when she accused J. A. Froude of harshness in his sensational publications on the Carlyles, but Ruskin did not share her view, although he found much useless detail in the work. He told her that the Carlyles were unable ever to amuse themselves, that Mrs. Carlyle never allowed herself to enjoy a book, a flower, a print, her work or her cooking, and that Carlyle might as well have married a needlecase. In another letter on the same subject, dated 25 May 1886, he again reviled Jane Welsh Carlyle :

*I'm going to write a life—beginning—"Carlyle wasn't ever able to see the difference between a woman and a ragbag—And there really isn't much—generally"—and then going in at the Missis!—She coolly told him she didn't love him, a week or so before the marriage—and she never did. Nor he her, of course—but he never was sarcastic at her as she at him."*²

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1248 (14.4.82).

² *Ibid.* (25.5.86).

Next day he noted in his *Diary* that he felt listless and weary, that the interest of the previous day had vanished, and that interest in life made all the difference between feeling weak or ill. His letter won a surprised protest from Constance and on 28 May, after a good night's sleep, he continued his cynical criticism :

Will you please tell me *one* virtue of C's that Froude has glossed over?

My life will be far less indulgent to him? I think Froude ever so much too indulgent—and that he continually calls " honesty " in C what was merely—want of self control—As for that vicious little sarcastic jade he had the charity to marry!

My dear—you don't imagine there are many couples in the world—who really are on terms at all, who go on like that!?

She never from first to last expresses one word of pity for him—or of real sympathy with his work. And, foolish as the suffering was, he did suffer terrifically—He should some times have been jested with—sometimes earnestly appealed to—*never* glanced at with a word of sarcasm.¹

This recollection of the intensity of Carlyle's misery and his wife's load of sarcasm may have drawn its fierceness from the memory of his own unhappy marriage.

At this period in the early summer of 1886 his thoughts inclined more to fear of the future than to bitterness of years past, and his fear was realized in July when, as he noted in his *Diary*, the delirium returned for the whole of the month. His recovery was slow and for some weeks he complained of a wrist injury caused by a restraining male attendant. Work was resumed, there was happiness to be found in letters—especially in those from Constance—but the following summer brought renewed illness which necessitated long convalescence in Folkestone and Sandgate. Constance's letters cheered him and he wrote freely and frequently to her, occasionally using the baby-talk familiar in his letters to Mrs. Severn and Mrs. Cowper Temple. He told her of his loneliness, of the discomfort of one lodging house and the greater comfort of another whose landlady, " a comfy sort ", had goodnatured eyes, but it was a new friend, seventeen-year-old Kathleen Olander, who gave him temporarily a new confidence and a pathetic hope for the future. It was on a brief expedition to the National Gallery in the winter of 1887 that Ruskin met Kathleen Olander. Their story was told in 1953 by

¹ Rylands Eng. MS. 1248 (28.5.86).

Kathleen herself¹ and it followed the familiar pattern ; she was interested in art and so in himself and in his books ; she was copying Turner's picture " The Sun rising in a Mist " and was introduced to Ruskin thus occupied by a helpful Gallery attendant. He was captivated by her desire to be an artist, by her youthful beauty and enthusiasm, and doubtless by her reverent regard for him. As was his custom, he approached her father to gain permission to help her in her artistic and educational training. In December he asked her to accept as a Christmas present some of his books, and she delighted him with a Rose La Touche-like request for a Bible. There are few references to Kathleen Olander in the Rylands collection of Ruskin's letters to Constance Oldham, but it may be safely assumed that Ruskin discussed his new friendship with her. In Kathleen's story of the brief love affair she refers to a luncheon party with Constance and her mother at their new home, which was now in Chislehurst. The purpose of this lunch, which was arranged at Ruskin's request, was to present Kathleen with his Christmas present of a Bible. Apparently Constance used this meeting as an opportunity to warn Kathleen of Ruskin's flirtatious tendencies. The lunch must have taken place sometime before 8 January for in a letter to Constance written on that date Ruskin wrote : " I am very thankful that all passed so happily with Kathleen—and that you both liked your Bibles." ² The fact that passages have been cut out of this and other letters suggests that Constance was worried about Ruskin's enthusiastic references to Kathleen and destroyed written evidence that might point to folly. Ruskin's wish that Constance and Kathleen Olander would form a close friendship never materialized, and his own transient hope of future happiness with Kathleen was shattered by her parents' opposition and irrevocably by a recurrence in 1888 of mental illness.

In this illness, as in others, Constance waited patiently for news from Brantwood of his recovery, performing any service that she thought might help him. From her schooldays she

¹ *The Gulf of Years. Letters from John Ruskin to Kathleen Olander.* Commentary by Kathleen Prynne. Edited and with a Preface by Rayner Unwin (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1953).

² Rylands Eng. MS. 1248 (8.1.88).

showed a rare sympathy and understanding of her god-father and Ruskin accepted her ministrations as his right. Despite her youth she represented the past and brought nearer maybe the feeling of security inevitably associated with the Denmark Hill Chapel days. It will be noted that as illness and unhappiness increased, his letters to Constance became more numerous, indeed she received over eighty letters from him between the years 1880 and 1889. He entrusted some of his family letters to her and she, in her loyalty, removed those passages from them which she felt should not be read by strange eyes. The last letter in this collection was written, as he reminded her, on his father's birthday in 1889, only a few months before the terrible attack that was utterly to destroy his intellectual powers. He wanted to tell Constance of his brave plans for the future and his quiet hope that his father would have approved of the man he now was. As long as reason remained with him he knew, and the knowledge gave him infinite satisfaction, that he could draw full measure of devotion from Constance Oldham and her family.

